

11/25 - NYT - Reagan administration officials believe that the USSR may be on the verge of offering a time table for a phased withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan (see 1/1/86).

- BIA - Revolutionary elements have once again launched rockets on Lashkargah in Helmand, killing 5 "innocent civilians," wounding 51 & causing a house to collapse.

11/26 - BIA - New projects in the DRA include "jacket-knitting, shoe making, plastic footwear, chemical materials, shirt & ice-making."

- Over 360 youth from the Kunderkhail & Totakhail tribes of Paktia joined the DRA armed forces. Earlier this month 200 Paktia youth enlisted in the armed forces & 70 became "defenders of the revolution."

11/27 - NYT - At least 8 people were assassinated in Kabul recently, apparently in Khalq-Parcham disputes.

11/28 - BIA - The politburo asked the Council of Ministers to "formulate regulations on the activities of the soldiers of the revolution." Babrak told the politburo that the Geneva summit "convincingly proved that the Soviet Union was the true defender of int'l peace & security."

11/30 - BIA - The DRA & Hungary signed agreements on cultural exchanges & health cooperation.

- Elections will begin in Kunduz tomorrow.

12/1 - BIA - The East German & the DRA Health Ministries signed agreements for medical cooperation,

12/2 - Daily News (Sri Lanka) - S.N. Moh'd Maihan Parast, former Chief of the North Zone, was named a Deputy Prime Minister. Other DPMs in the DRA are Gul Dad, Abdul Majid Sarboland, Brig. Gen. Moh'd Rafie & Sarwar Mangal.

- PT - A German doctor was reported killed in a Soviet air attack on Baraki-Barah village 80 kms south of Kabul.

12/3 - NYT - The UN Human Rights Report on Afghanistan was presented to the UNGA (see 12/8). The DRA UN delegate called the report a "wild & worthless piece of trash."

- BIA - A delegation of Indian Muslims who had been touring mosques & holy places in Kabul & Jalalabad returned to India.

- About 400 armed bandits & their leader, Haji Amin, surrendered to DRA representatives in the Andreskan district of Herat.

- A regular system of party education has been set up in all party committees. Ideological work constitutes the main activity of PDPA party committees.

12/4 - NYT reports: Guerrillas destroyed 16 fuel trucks in a Soviet convoy near the Salang Pass last week; 15 civilians died when a bus was caught in an ambush; Pakistan closed the Khyber Pass after moving troops into the area to find rebellious tribesmen; tribal leader Wali Khan Kukikhel is said to be receiving arms from the DRA (see p. 14). - BIA - Mahmoud Baryalai, in Pyongyang, signed a cooperation protocol for 1980 - 90 between the PDPA CC & the CC of the Workers Party of Korea.

12/5 - BIA - The politburo met & assessed "improving the level of drafting & recruitment & combat preparedness of the armed forces & the promotion of the vocational & political level of the servicemen..." *REDACTED*



'Remember, don't shoot until you see the red of their eyes!'

- BIA - The Pakistani charge d'affaires in Kabul was called to the DRA foreign ministry to hear the DRAs "profound concern" over the "armed attack" of Pakistan on the Shinwari & Afridi tribes in the Khyber region.

- Afghans marked the 7th anniversary of the treaty of friendship, good-neighbourliness & cooperation between the DRA & the USSR.

- FEER - Nayan Chanda writes that Afghanistan was discussed at length at the Geneva summit talks &, although there was no "evidence" of a solution, Sec'y of State Shultz said there were some indications of Gorbachev's willingness to give a timetable for Soviet troop withdrawal (see 1/1/86).

12/7 - BIA - "Pioneer" is the title of the 1st feature film for children produced by DRA Radio-TV. Sakhī Baryalai is the film's 15-year-old star.

12/8 - PT - The UNGA's Social, Humanitarian & Cultural Committee voted 75-23 (33 abstentions) to voice its "profound concern" over wide-spread human rights violations in Afghanistan.

- BIA - The KNT reports that the US Congress, "in a secret decision," appropriated another \$470m for the counter-revolution. "The new 'secret aid' is primarily to prolong the bloodshed... & hamper the struggle for establishing peace & security in the region" (see 12/11).

12/9 - PT - At the meeting of South Asian Nations leaders in Dhaka: Pakistan issued a statement denouncing the Soviet role in Afghanistan; India said it would oppose any attempt to put Afghanistan on the agenda; Afghanistan wasn't invited.

- BIA - The Bakhtar political observer notes that the withdrawal of the US & Britain from UNESCO will not weaken the organization. On the contrary, "the scope of its services...will be expanded." - The adoption of the "so-called violation of human rights" in the DRA was "imposed on the UN by US imperialism" according to Waqiqat-e-Enqilab-e-Saur.

- The DRA Mortgage & Construction Bank has given over Afs 42m in construction loans to state employees this year. The repayment period has been extended from 3 to 5 years.

- The Ahoo shoe factory, which is privately owned, borrowed Afs.20m from the DRA to increase its production to 1500 pairs of shoes per day.

- Shah Moh'd Dost left for Geneva for the next round of UN-sponsored talks.

12/10 - PT - VOA reported that a Soviet operation to wipe out the resistance near the Laghman-Nangarhar border failed.

12/11 - NYT - Jean-Pierre Hocke was elected UN High Commissioner for Refugees, to succeed Poul Hartling on 1/1/86.

- PT - Mujahideen cut the main USSR-Kabul supply route for a week causing fuel & other shortages.

12/11 - Time reports that for this fiscal year Congress secretly allocated \$470m to the CIA to help the Afghan resistance. The report claims that perhaps as much as 50% of the aid doesn't get there. It pinpoints 5 leaks in the pipeline: "The Pakistani military, which takes delivery of the arms shipments..., is keeping some equipment for itself. Pakistani officers, sometimes in connivance with Afghan political leaders..., sell some of the arms on the black market. Afghan leaders...peddle equipment for personal profit. Mujahideen commanders trade weapons to raise the money needed to transport supplies across the...border to Afghanistan. Guerrillas returning to Pakistan...frequently sell their weapons at the frontier, expecting that they will be re-equipped when they return to battle."



- NYT - In a speech to a group of human rights activists, Pres. Reagan criticized the USSR for its role in Afghanistan where, he said, 120,000 troops remain.

'They have slaughtered innocent women and children,' the President said. 'They have employed poison gas. And they have loaded toys with small explosives in an attempt to demoralize people by crippling Afghan children.'

12/12 - PT - On 12/8, 9 people were killed & 54 injured in a bomb blast at the Meteorological Office in Kabul. The building was demolished. At least 21 students were hurt in a blast at Kabul Polytechnic Inst.

12/12 - PT - US Amb. to Pakistan Dean Hinton gave UNHCR a check for \$3,800,324 for Afghan refugees, bringing US aid to UNHCR in Pakistan so far to \$142m. Overall US assistance to refugee relief organizations is \$430m.

- FEER -

Afghanistan's secret police chief Najibullah has been appointed a secretary of the ruling communist party — a move which could put him in line for the presidency, should the Soviets decide to oust current President Babrak Karmal whom they installed through military intervention in 1979. * * * Although Najibullah will only be one of eight secretaries, his new party appointment gives him considerable influence. Najibullah, a medical graduate, is a member of Afghanistan's dominant Pashtun ethnic group and has been a member of Karmal's Parcham faction within the party since his student days. He is a close associate of Karmal with whom he joined up from Iran, where he was ambassador, just before the Soviet-installed leader's appointment as Afghanistan's president in 1979. As chief of KHAD, Najibullah maintains close links with the KGB which effectively runs the Afghan secret police.

Western diplomatic sources say Najibullah's appointment is important in light of repeated rumours in Kabul that the Soviets might replace Karmal at some point in the near future either to make a fresh beginning inside the country or as a prelude to a negotiated settlement. Although there is no firm indication that Karmal is on his way out, Najibullah would be well placed as party secretary and KHAD chief to take over in case of a leadership change. As one observer explained, "It might be mere speculation but one should not ignore any development in Kabul where strange things have happened before. Having failed to subdue the mujahideen after six years of fighting, Soviet behaviour in Afghanistan can best be described as unpredictable and that applies to the running of the tinpot Afghan party." □

12/14 - NYT - The US announced its willingness to serve as a guarantor of a peace settlement in Afghanistan that would include both a withdrawal of Soviet troops & an end to US aid to the guerrillas. Formal notification of the US offer was made to the UN Sec'y Gen'l

on 12/11. The letter conveyed US acceptance of a draft text of a document (which has not been made public) being negotiated indirectly between Pakistan & Afghanistan. 3 of 4 basic documents have been drafted: one on mutual non-interference, one on the voluntary return of the refugees & the one on international guarantees. The 4th, dealing with the Soviet withdrawal, remains to be written. The next round of talks begins on 12/16 in Geneva.

12/16 - CSM - Edward Girardet reports from Peshawar:

Leaders of Afghanistan's seven major guerrilla organizations, despite repeated setbacks in the past, have agreed to further consolidate their alliance as a first step in creating a resistance government.

Earlier this year the exiled Peshawar-based parties — not including those from Afghanistan's central Hazarajat region — established a joint military committee, with each leader chairing the alliance on a three-month revolving basis.

At a press conference Thursday in this border city, present chairman Hekmatyar Gulbuddin, leader of the Hezbe Inqilab-e-Islami-e Afghanistan resistance group, announced the formation of new resistance committees. He said these committees, ranging from political to educational, are being set up in order to "coordinate the jihad [holy war] against the Russian invaders and their Afghan lackeys."

"This alliance is already in the shape of a *mujahed* [guerrilla] government representing the Afghan people. It will strengthen our demands for . . . the Afghan seat at the United Nations and Afghan embassies abroad," said Gulbuddin.

Gulbuddin stressed that the political parties still had to decide on the precise form of such a government. He also indicated that the resistance would seek to establish such an administration on "liberated" Afghan soil rather than in exile.

"For this we will require a proper anti-aircraft system in order to defend ourselves. We don't possess such weaponry at the moment," he added. . . .

In what is perhaps an indication that the present alliance could prove more constructive than previous efforts, spokesmen among the different parties have been careful to stress guerrilla cooperation and unity.

Gulbuddin, in particular, appears to have dropped some of his earlier antagonisms and has been cultivating a more respectable resistance image. He has made several trips into the interior this year and has energetically used his chairmanship to get more foreign support. . . .



SO I STUDY
ARMS CONTROL AND
SPACE WEAPONS
AND AFGHANISTAN
AND NICARAGUA
AND HUMAN RIGHTS
— LIKE I'M SOME
KIND OF DUMMY!



TONS OUT
PRINCE CHARLES
DON'T CARE
ABOUT ANY OF
THAT STUFF!



Durham
Morning
Herald
11/14

12/19 - NYT - The Free Afghanistan Alliance of Boston brought 4 Afghan amputee children to the US to be fitted with artificial limbs. The children are from refugee camps in & around Peshawar.

12/23 - SCMP - The Pakistani Foreign Minister said that "serious difficulties" remained in finding a negotiated settlement in Afghanistan. The Geneva talks have adjourned until February.

12/25 - Hartford Courant - Press reports from New Delhi say that Najibullah (see 12/12) is now #2 in the Afghan gov't hierarchy and has assumed control over all wings of the security forces - the army, the Interior Ministry & Khad - in his role as general sec'y of the PDPA. One report says that Najibullah has stepped up conscription for the armed forces & in one incident, gov't troops surrounded a leading Kabul high school as it was holding graduation. About 150 graduates were nabbed for the army before they could leave the school.

12/29 - NYT - Pres. Reagan, in his weekly radio address, said that the USSR had inflicted "utter hell" on the people of Afghanistan through its 1979 intervention. In his message of 12/27, issued to coincide with the 6th anniversary of the Soviet invasion, he accused Moscow of resorting to "barbaric methods of waging war." He did, however, repeat the US offer to act as a guarantor in a settlement.



Tile design



Herat

1/1/86 - NYT - The troop withdrawal plan:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31 — The Afghan Government has informally presented a timetable for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan within a one year period as part of an overall accord, a senior State Department official said today.

He said the schedule for the withdrawal of the 120,000 Soviet soldiers was shown to the United Nations Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Diego Cordovez of Ecuador, during the most recent United Nations-sponsored talks on a political settlement in Afghanistan in Geneva from Dec. 16 to 19.

The troop withdrawal plan was given to Mr. Cordovez by the Afghan Foreign Minister, Shah Mohammed Dost. It was not formally offered in the talks because the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, refused to negotiate directly with the Afghan until he produced a guarantee that the Soviet Government would vouch for the timetable, the official said.

The recent Geneva meeting on Afghanistan was somewhat unusual, as it was described by the senior official. The United States does not participate in the United Nations-sponsored negotiations, but is briefed in detail by both the UN and the Pakistanis.

The senior official said Mr. Dost, representing the Government of Babrak Karmal, came to the meeting with a schedule for Soviet withdrawal.

But he told Mr. Cordovez, that "he would only present it if the Pakistanis would come into direct negotiations." These talks are now being conducted indirectly by Mr. Cordovez, who shuttles between meetings with the Afghan and the Pakistani. The two have not sat down together because Pakistan does not recognize the Karmal Government.

Mr. Dost handed the timetable to Mr. Cordovez, "allowed him to read it, but took it back," the official said, but gave the United Nations representative a summary of the timetable.

"In effect, it did provide a schedule of troop withdrawals over a relatively short period of time, less than a year," he said. "It didn't have a specific starting time and expiration date."

REMEMBER TO RENEW YOUR
SUBSCRIPTION

MISGUIDED MUJAHID

A FORMER Afghan guerrilla who claims he was brought to Hongkong by the Soviets, had his 21-month jail term reduced by nine months yesterday.

Appearing in High Court in person, before Deputy Judge Bernard Downey, Gulam Nabi, 40, who was convicted on charges of forging travellers' cheques, obtaining property by deception and forging a passport, claimed that the Soviets had plans for Hongkong but would not elaborate.

With the help of an interpreter, Nabi, looking the archetypal image of a Mujahideen guerrilla with his thick long beard and fierce eyes, asked that his sentence be suspended so that he could go to India where he had refugee status which was confirmed by documents which he produced in court.

His request was denied by Mr Downey, but he was acquitted on the charge of forging a passport — for which he had received a nine-month imprisonment sentence — on the basis that it had been forged outside Hongkong and did not come under local jurisdiction.

During his trial in June, Nabi claimed that he had fought with the Mujahideen (Freedom Fighters), against the Soviets in Afghanistan, between 1979 and 1980.

He said he escaped to Pakistan after 20 members of his family were killed by the Soviets when they refused to reveal his whereabouts.

He and his family proceeded to India, as refugees, in 1980. There he met a Sri Lankan named Robert who promised to help them to emigrate to Canada.

He claimed to have given Robert his picture which was affixed to a stolen passport. He then travelled to Katmandu and Bangkok before reaching Hongkong.

He stayed at a Tsim Sha Tsui hotel with Robert and two of his associates. He said once they had checked in, Robert said he had lost his passport and needed Nabi to cash some travellers' cheques using his own forged passport.

Nabi said he initially refused, but after being assaulted and threatened at gunpoint that his family in India would suffer if he did not cooperate, he agreed.

He said that he tried to alert the cashier at a money changer's booth, but could not express himself in En-

glish. The suspicious cashier called the police who arrested Nabi.

He was found to have obtained \$21,764.70 in cash.

HK Standard 10/10

MOSCOW: NO PULL-OUT

Islamabad: Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Mikhail Kapitsa has said Moscow will not agree to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan as part of an overall peace settlement.

Mr Kapitsa also said in an interview with the Muslim, Islamabad's English-language daily newspaper, that Afghanistan would not be discussed when President Ronald Reagan and Russian leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Geneva next month.

Mr Kapitsa's remarks appeared to set back even further the slow-moving Geneva talks, in which Pakistan and Afghanistan negotiate through a United Nations representative.

Pakistani officials said in June Moscow had agreed to include the withdrawal of its 115,000 troops in any settlement.

But Mr Kapitsa told Muslim editor Mr Musahid Hussain in Moscow:

"We will not give a timetable for withdrawal of our forces from Afghanistan."

"That is a bilateral matter between us and Afghanistan."

"Afghanistan has nothing to do with the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in Geneva," he added, saying the two leaders would discuss world security and not regional issues.

Mr Kapitsa criticised Washington for what he said was its failure to respond to a draft document circulated by UN mediator Mr Diego Corrao to states supposed to guarantee any Afghan settlement.

He said Moscow had already responded.

He also came down hard on Pakistan, which has three million Afghan refugees and allows Muslim dissidents to receive arms and training on its territory and to operate from camps near the border.

"Your country is at war with the Soviet Union," said Mr Kapitsa, a former Russian ambassador to Pakistan.

"There is an undeclared war launched from your territory against Afghanistan."

He said that in August Pakistan backed out of an undertaking to meet Afghan officials directly in the UN talks.

Islamabad, which refuses to speak to Kabul because it does not recognise the Babrak Karmal Government, has denied this.

Mr Kapitsa criticised Pakistan's nuclear programme, which he said was not peaceful despite repeated statements from Islamabad about its pacific nature.

The United States could not woo India at the same time as it delivered sophisticated arms to Pakistan, he said.

"The Americans are very foolish."

"These positions are irreconcilable," he said.

Mr Kapitsa said Moscow's relations with Beijing were better than its ties with the United States, Japan and West Germany.

China had set preconditions on normalisation with the Soviet Union "just to make the West feel secure that the Chinese are not becoming close to us," he said.

Beijing has demanded the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan and the Chinese border and an end to Russian support for Vietnam's presence in Vietnam as its conditions for normal relations.

The problems of Afghanistan and Cambodia would be solved in five years, Mr Kapitsa said, so Beijing should speak directly to those countries about them.

Meanwhile, Afghan security forces have arrested two men spying for the US and Britain, the official Kabul Radio said yesterday.

The radio, monitored in Islamabad, named the two as Didar and Mohammad Yunis but did not say whether they were Afghans.

It said they had close contacts with two Western doctors working in Kabul's Noor Eye Hospital whom it described as imperialist spies.

The radio said nothing about the whereabouts of the doctors it named as Dr Isabel Wood of Britain and Dr John Fredrickson from the United States.

The two captured spies have confessed their crimes and a detailed report of the confession will be broadcast today, the radio said.

HK Standard 10/12

By a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

in Peshawar

The 5½-year-old war has also had a devastating effect on Afghanistan's predominantly rural economy.

Vast tracts of agricultural land have been deserted by farmers fleeing the war. Soviet ground and air attacks make working in many fields unsafe. In many places, the population has either left the area or adult males are involved in the war either as Afghan Army conscripts or with the guerrillas.

The previously-rich northern provinces have reverted to a subsistence economy. People only cultivate wheat and barley in order to meet their immediate needs. Even this activity has stopped in the areas surrounding the cities.

On the outskirts of Mazar, for instance, the fields are not cultivated at all; the villagers have moved to the city. Sugar beet, cotton, oil-yielding seeds and plants, formerly sold to the Government factories, are no longer produced. Chemical fertiliser needed to grow them cannot be obtained in the northern markets.

The textile mills at Pol-E-Khomry and Balkh have come to a standstill for lack of raw material. Factories in Mazar, which employed about 8,000 workers, are now reduced to 800, mostly administrative staff.

The large textile mill at Gulbahar, north of Kabul, is receiving neither enough power (the power lines being constantly cut by the resistance), nor enough raw material to operate. The majority of the workers have left, the remaining few have become Government militia guarding the factory building against Mujahideen attacks.

Afghanistan's irrigation system, the basis of agriculture, has been seriously disrupted.

Bombs dropped from the air or explosives thrown inside the karez (underground canals), have seriously destabilised the system. Some karezes have ceased to give water, while others are producing less than half of their normal capacity.

The war in Afghanistan is far from over. In spite of the evident lack of political unity among resistance groups, the Soviet Union has failed to win popular support for the Kabul regime of Mr Babrak Karmal. They also seem unable to gain the upper hand militarily.

SCMP 10/11

ARMS TALK

WASHINGTON: Dominick Spadea says he is not sure how Afghanistan's anti-Soviet rebels found out about the sub-machine pistol his company makes.

He does know that the guerrillas dangled big money before his 5-year-old firm: a potential US\$10-million contract.

So when the deal developed snags, Mr Spadea approached the staff of US Senator Frank Lautenberg.

It was a complex problem that ultimately included the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, the Senate Foreign Relations and Intelligence committees, a gun lobby and an organisation representing the Afghan insurgents.

The predicament thrust the unwitting Mr Spadea and his Jersey Arms Works of Westmont, New Jersey, into the knotty terrain of covert US aid and Soviet-US-Pakistani relations.

continued on next page

"I'm a businessman and I want to make a sale," said Mr Spadea. "There are many ideological and political considerations in this, and I want to avoid that. All we want to do is find out if our government will approve a bona fide sale to the rebels."

Mr Spadea says he simply wanted to sell thousands of the concealable machine guns he manufactures directly to the anti-communist Afghan fighters.

In August, the State Department — following US government policy that bars overt military aid to the rebels — told him no.

The guerrillas, who have been fighting the Soviets since their 1979 invasion of Afghanistan, receive covert military aid from the United States and other countries, most of it clandestinely funnelled through neighbouring Pakistan.

Government officials will not publicly discuss that assistance, or even acknowledge that it exists. But it is a system that sources say involves hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

"To ask for an overt programme is to ask Pakistan to declare war on Afghanistan," said Paul Young, aide to Republican Senator Gordon Humphrey, who has sought increased assistance to the rebels. "Right now, we deny we have a covert programme and Pakistan denies that they are helping."

Mr Spadea had other concerns.

His firm developed the S-7 Avenger submachine pistol, a .45-calibre, light-weight weapon that can empty its 30-round clip in two seconds. It sells for US\$369.

But because they are considered machine guns, it has been hard to sell them in the United States.

Hence, he sought customers overseas. Late this summer, he says, he heard that the Afghan resistance movement wanted to purchase thousands of the guns.

Andrew Eiva, executive director of the Federation for American-Afghan Action, which lobbies for the rebels, said, "Weapons manufactured in the US are not at the top of the guerrilla shopping list. There are better ones manufactured elsewhere. But Dom's goods are particularly interesting because of price, and their usefulness and reliability for urban guerrilla operations."

Mr Spadea said he believes the rebels' interest in his weapons was generated at a June gathering of anti-communist guerrilla groups in Angola. That session was sponsored by Lewis Lehrman, the conservative activist who in 1982 ran unsuccessfully for governor of New York.

Mr Spadea asked the State Department for permission to make the sale, but received a one-line response reading, "Such an application would be denied."

HK Standard 10/20

PRISONER SWAP

The exchange, which took place on August 24 in the Logar Valley south of Kabul, was initiated by a senior Russian official from Kiev and negotiated by an Afghan secret police official, said members of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan.

The alliance handed over the Kiev official's son and another Russian soldier for the three sons of the Afghan negotiator and three relatives of alliance leaders, they said.

The Soviet Union has previously refused to negotiate prisoner exchanges, preferring to bomb rebel positions in retaliation for capturing their troops even if communist lives were put at risk, Western diplomats said.

In July, Afghan helicopters bombed a rebel stronghold in the Panjsher Valley and killed 131 Afghan Army officers about to be exchanged for jailed rebels, according to the rebel party Jamiat-i-Islami.

The alliance members said the Russian official contacted an agent of the Khad secret police in Kandahar after learning that he had three rebel sons being held in Kabul.

After being promised his sons' freedom in return, the Khad official went to the Pakistani city of Peshawar and found the Russian prisoner was being held by the alliance, one of seven main rebel parties based there.

The exchange was arranged through the alliance's main commander in the Logar Valley.

The six rebels were taken there from Kabul by helicopter for the exchange on August 24.

The three other rebels released were a cousin of alliance leader Abd-i-Rab Rasoul Sayyaf, a brother of Logar commander Haji Sayed Mohammad and a relative of one of Mr Sayyaf's senior aides, officially said.

Afghan rebels are believed to be holding several dozen Russian soldiers inside Afghanistan and in Pakistan's lawless tribal belt, but Western diplomats said the swap did not mean more would be released soon.

"This must be considered an isolated case," said one envoy, noting that the prisoners on both sides had influential relatives working for their exchange.

SCMP 10/21

RESISTANCE LEADERS IN NY

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Oct. 29—President Reagan's call for direct negotiations between the Soviet Union and Afghan insurgents is a welcome change in U.S. policy, but Afghan resistance groups have little interest in participating, a representative of seven major resistance groups said.

"It is useless for us to sit down with the Russians," said Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the Hezb-i-

Islami, one of the largest groups, in an interview yesterday. "For what? There is nothing to be discussed. They have invaded our country. The only solution is for them to withdraw their troops."

The resistance leader, however, applauded what he said was "a change in the policy of the United States: that the talks should take into account the views of the real parties," the Soviets and the Afghan resistance fighters. . .

Hekmatyar, who was chosen spokesman for the seven groups, and other rebel representatives arrived here during the 40th anniversary commemoration of the United Nations to open a campaign to gain a seat in the General Assembly and oust the representative of the Babrak government.

Representatives of six groups participated in the two-hour interview here. They said they have met with representatives of more than a dozen U.N. missions here. Today they met for 45 minutes with U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters. . .

Noting that U.N. resolutions have repeatedly condemned the invasion, Zabihullah Mojaddidi of the National Liberation Front said, "It is an amazing contradiction that the person who is the by-product of the very intervention that is condemned by the U.N. is sitting in that body. Shouldn't we [the mujaheddin] be the ones who should be recognized? There is no question that we represent the Afghan people."

The resistance leaders said they would make several visits to New York and talk to every one of the 119 countries that had supported them in a U.N. vote last year before the next General Assembly meets.

"It will be a long process," said Siddiqui Safoqi, representing the Mahazi Milli-Islami.



WP 10/30

That's a Russian in disguise

Afghanistan has taught the Russians a few lessons. Since they invaded the country nearly six years ago they have changed some of their methods of dealing with the resistance forces' unorthodox approach to war. But the nature of the war remains the same: the Russians are wielding a heavy club of an army to hit a resistance that moves too fast for them.

Afghanistan-watchers argue about how many Soviet soldiers are now in the country. The most widely accepted figure is around 105,000-115,000, up from 80,000 just after the 1979 invasion. Given this uncertainty, the figures that follow are all approximate.

Most of the Soviet troops are, and have been since 1979, in motorised rifle divisions (MRDs), incorporating tank and artillery regiments with infantry in armoured personnel carriers. There are now 60,000 of these soldiers in bases all over Afghanistan—80% of them young conscripts—and 30,000-40,000 support troops such as road-builders, doctors and cooks.

More recent arrivals include some better troops: older, better trained, mostly airborne. There are 10,000 paratroops and 5,000 air assault troops. Helicopters have proved so useful, both for transport and as gunships, that their numbers have been raised from the original 200 to 650. The latest imports are the *spetsnaz* "special purpose forces". Some work for the KGB, some for the GRU (military intelligence). They specialise in ambushes, assassinations and infiltration.

According to defectors from their ranks, the Soviet soldiers are proving less efficient than they should be. Many are debilitated by drugs and disease. There is little *esprit de corps*, mostly because the practice of replacing conscripts when they have done their 18 months prevents officers from getting to know their men well. Junior officers, trained to refer decisions upwards, show little initiative. The Russians seem to realise this: General Mikhail Zaitsev, who is thought to have been put in charge of the war this summer, wants junior officers to be trained to make more decisions for themselves.

In theory the Russians are there just to support the Afghan army. No doubt they would like to be able to rely on it, but this has proved impractical. Officially, the Afghan army has 80,000 men. In practice, its strength falls to around 30,000 before each annual recruitment campaign, when another 30,000 young men are press-ganged into it. Afghan soldiers have a habit of leaving the army, either to go home or to join the guerrillas, taking their arms with them.

At the beginning of the war the standard offensive was led by Afghan troops with Soviet MRD soldiers following behind. According to observers, these operations looked like parade-ground exercises, with troops moving in formations patently unsuited to the terrain and armed with anti-tank weapons, which were of little use against guerrillas. The high rate of desertion in the Afghan army, and the failure of these operations to make much impact on the guerrillas, led to modifications.

The offensives—still big affairs, gener-



ally involving 10,000 men—are now spearheaded by Soviet paratroopers and helicopter-borne air assault troops, who are used to secure hills where the guerrillas might be lying in wait, or to block escape routes. The main body of troops then sweeps through the whole target area, in which, if all goes according to plan, the guerrillas should be trapped.

The guerrillas admit that these tactics are more effective. However, their better knowledge of the countryside still enables most of them to disappear into the hills and wait until the Russians have gone

away again. Twice this year the Russians have launched big offensives of the new sort to relieve beleaguered garrisons—one near Gardez, one near Jalalabad. Once the guerrillas have been driven away with the help of the best troops, Afghan and Soviet conscripts are left to man the posts. The guerrillas return, and the game starts again.

But the guerrillas are less secure than they were a year ago. The increasing use of Soviet *spetsnaz* troops—some of whom, according to the guerrillas, are trained in local languages and disguised as Afghans—means that the resistance groups' camps risk being surprised, their leaders fear assassination, and the groups are more suspicious of each other.

This helps the Russians to divide the resistance. The guerrilla movement is anyway plagued by tribal rivalries and personal hatreds. The Russians have had some success in buying off tribal leaders. This year they convened a *Loya Jirga*, a traditional assembly of tribal chiefs, to give a semblance of prestige and power to their Afghan allies. But the deals they make often end either with the assassination of their Afghan ally or with the Afghans returning to the resistance, taking the spoils with them.

Despite the improvements in their tactics, the Russians can still do little more than hold the cities—most of the time—and drive the resistance out of particular rural areas for short periods. And the Russians' education has been expensive. Claims made by resistance spokesmen that more than 50,000 Soviet soldiers have been killed are exaggerations, but the true figure probably lies somewhere between 8,000 and 15,000. The Russians have publicly admitted only 20 deaths.

THE ECONOMIST OCTOBER 26 1985



Only 18 months before we go home

The Russians' Lot in Afghan Hands



The New York Times/Arthur Bonner

Gennadi Anatolyevich Tsevma, center, who has taken the name Naik Mohammed, with a group of Afghan rebels. He says Russian soldiers "steal guns from a storeroom and sell them" and "use the money to buy hashish."

Special to The New York Times

GHURBAND, Afghanistan — "The Holy Koran," a rebel commander said, "says if you capture a prisoner during fighting you should not kill him but you should teach him about Islam. If he becomes a Moslem, you should treat him as a brother."

The insurgent leader was speaking of the options available to the rebel forces — and the problems they face — when Russian soldiers are taken alive: the rebels can convert the Russians to Islam, kill them, send them to Pakistan or exchange them for captured rebels.

His statement also underscored another aspect of the conflict here, one that foreign diplomats based in Pakistan, medical volunteers and others who have traveled in Afghanistan agree is one of the most vital yet least-understood elements of the long war: what they call "the Islamic factor."

The goal of the insurgents, these sources say, is not only to drive out the Russians and end the rule of Afghan Communists but also to establish a society based on the social and ethical values of the Koran. . . .

Few Captured in Battle

The majority of Russians in the insurgents' hands, according to rebel commanders, are either defectors or people who were captured while trying to sell supplies or buy drugs. The Russians are rarely seized in the heat of battle, the rebels said, for two reasons.

First, they said, Russian soldiers seldom leave their tanks or armored personnel carriers and often send Afghan Government soldiers out in front on foot, in an effort to discourage ambushes.

Second, the commanders said, the normal tactic of the insurgents is to fall back when attacked because the Russian and Afghan Government troops have better and heavier weapons.

Since the rebels do not advance toward their enemies, they are rarely able to capture them. Russians who are seized, they said, are generally killed.

The rebels said they are not the only ones who kill Soviet troops. Russians who have strayed from protected areas, they said, have been seized and killed by Afghan villagers or nomads eager for the money that a Kalashnikov rifle will bring if sold to a bazaar merchant.

The problem of what to do with the Russians, from an Afghan point of view, was summed up by Mohammed Salim, a 29-year-old Afghan rebel commander in Baghlan province. He has one Soviet defector in his command.

"The Russians leave their bases because they are in trouble and fear punishment, not because they want to fight in our holy war," he said. "We can seldom have complete confidence in them."

"If we kill them, no more will try to escape, and we want to make trouble for the Russians. Most commanders prefer to send them to Pakistan."

"Our fighting units are small and have to keep moving," he said. "If spies say there is a Russian with them, they will be bombed even more." . . .

Officially, Pakistani Government officials and rebels in Pakistan deny there are any Russian defectors or prisoners on Pakistani soil.

But when speaking off the record and not for attribution, they concede that there are Russians in some of the large rebel camps in Pakistan's tribal territory bordering Afghanistan. Foreign diplomats, relief workers and others who monitor the Afghan situation estimate that half of the 100 to 200 Russians they believe to be in rebel hands are in Pakistan.

According to rebel sources, some Russian defectors are well integrated in rebel ranks and wander freely with their Afghan companions through the streets of Peshawar. They can easily pass for Tadzhiks from northern Afghanistan. Many Afghan Tadzhiks are fair-skinned, with blue or gray eyes and a general appearance similar to that of many of the Soviet soldiers sent to Afghanistan. . . .



roger helms photo

A PLANE GONE TO POT

Heroic Youth and Tales of Danger

By SERGE SCHMEMANN
Special to The New York Times

11/12

MOSCOW, Nov. 11 — The Soviet force in Afghanistan may still be a "limited contingent" doing its "internationalist duty," but almost six years after it began, the Afghan war has begun spawning stories about heroes and military feats in the official press — and even some questioning by the public.

After virtually neglecting the war in its first years, newspapers now regularly carry reports about young heroes who sacrificed their lives in the struggle against the "dushmans," as the Afghan rebels are called.

More tellingly, over the last year Soviet television has begun to show combat scenes.

The shifts apparently reflect the fact that after almost six years of combat, after hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers have served in Afghanistan and thousands have been killed or wounded, the Kremlin cannot pretend that a few Russian soldiers are in Afghanistan temporarily only to help out.

The change in Soviet television has been most notable since Mikhail Leshchinsky, formerly the head of Soviet television's propaganda desk, was appointed chief of the Soviet television and radio desk in Kabul.

In his latest report the other night, Mr. Leshchinsky was seen in a safari jacket traveling with Soviet troops through a barren Afghan plain. He said the unit was on its way to confront a reported concentration of rebels.

No contact was shown, but Mr. Leshchinsky subsequently displayed stacks of weapons purportedly seized from the rebels.

In another recent news program, viewers saw Soviet helicopters rocketing a village and then coming under fire themselves, and Mr. Leshchinsky then interviewed some young soldiers in desert gear about the dangers of their assignment.

Apart from showing combat, the reports have changed in no longer insisting that the soldiers are in Afghanistan only to assist the "Afghan revolution," and in no longer saying they come in contact with rebels only in self-defense.

The newspaper and television reports now talk of Soviet units going out on patrols or chasing after bands of rebels.

In a related change, military commentators have begun talking of service in Afghanistan as a patriotic duty to the Soviet motherland, and not only as "internationalist" assistance to the Afghan Government.

Early news reports from Afghanistan usually showed Soviet military doctors inoculating Afghan children, or young soldiers draping their hands over the shoulders of smiling Afghan workers. The typical report these days is about a young soldier who sacrifices his life for his comrades.

The model is Sgt. Nikolai Chepik, a farm boy from Byelorussia who was killed in February 1984 and became the first nationally publicized hero of the

Afghan war. Sergeant Chepik's feat involved setting off a grenade to save his comrades from an ambush.

Komsomolskaya Pravda subsequently reported a similar sacrifice by Pvt. Sergei Shashov, who volunteered to cover the withdrawal of comrades who had fallen into an ambush. Private Shashov held off the rebels as long as he could, and in the end used his last grenade to blow up himself and the remaining rebels.

New Hero in Soviet Press

The most recent hero of the press is Pvt. Aleksandr V. Koryavin of Zagosk, a city just north of Moscow, who spotted an Afghan sniper and leapt in front of his commander to save his life.

The primary purpose of such reports has been to invest a little-known and little-understood conflict with some glory and patriotism. Apparently for the same reasons, the press has increasingly begun to portray the war as something more than the "internationalist duty" on behalf of a neighboring Marxist regime.

Komsomolskaya Pravda, for example, recently printed a question from a reader who asked, "Why is my cousin serving in Afghanistan?"

The newspaper selected a World War II veteran who had fought on the Caucasian front to respond. In what appeared to be a pointed parallel, Gen. F. Mazhayev said his defense of the southern Caucasian republics had given him an "unwavering faith in the strength of the Leninist friendship of peoples."

"Strategic Issue"

But General Mazhayev's main justification for the war was that it served Soviet national interests as well.

"Afghanistan, after all, has a huge border with us," he wrote. "This means that a strategic issue of major importance is being decided there. The Ukraine is far from Afghanistan, but the Ukraine is an inseparable part of the Soviet Union. There, on the land of Afghanistan, our warriors, fulfilling their internationalist duty, are also defending their Ukrainian, Siberian, Kazakh home."

General Mazhayev's was the first statement to put the issue so bluntly. But most other published accounts have also tried to put the Afghan conflict in a context of Soviet patriotism, either by drawing comparisons with World War II or by stressing the patriotic virtues of the soldiers.

Some Problems at Home

The war has spawned its problems, too. Several newspapers have reported the complaints of Afghan veterans and invalids who are not cared for properly on returning home.

Krasnaya Zvezda recently printed the letter of a young war invalid who went to the head of the line with the special pass that entitled him to do so when buying a train ticket in Leningrad.

He wrote: "The people in line started muttering: so young, where you pushing? My pass went flying out the ticket window right onto the floor, and the ticket-seller yelled, 'you've been to war, huh, milk-sop? What are you doing pushing a war invalid's pass?'"

THE GREAT GAME

Tom Heneghan
writes from
Landi Kotal in
Weekend (Sri
Lanka) 12/1:

— Pakistan and Afghanistan are playing a modern version of the 19th-century "great game" in the Khyber Pass, each hoping that money, guns and flattery will win the Pashtun tribes over to its side.

The great game was given its name by the imperial British engaged in a power struggle for the frontier with Czarist Russia. Like them, Pakistan and Afghanistan are placing their bets on rival Maliks - tribal chiefs - to bring the lawless border area under their sway.

The methods are the same: A cash payment here, a free rifle there, a blind eye to smuggling just about everywhere. The legendary love of guns of the Pashtuns — known to Britons in the days of their Indian empire as "the wily pathan" — again plays a central role.

Islamabad wants peace in the tribal areas so guns and Moslem guerrillas can continue to pass through them on their way to fight the communist government in Afghanistan.

But Kabul, supported by 115,000 Soviet troops in its war against the rebels, is handing out free Kalashnikov assault rifles to Pakistani tribesmen who say they will try to stop the guerrillas.

A huge drug trade, which became so open by 1982 that Pakistan closed the pass to foreigners, also plays a part.

The Pakistanis have begun cracking down on the Khyber's traffic in heroin, opium and hashish — drugs some Kabul-backed tribesmen call their only "natural resource." The struggle has crystallized into a sparring match between the two leaders: Maliks of the Afridi tribe a rivalry rich in the iron of the Pashtuns' notoriously fickle politics.

Nader Khan Zakhshel, Islamabad's main supporter in the pass, returned home in 1978 after 25 years in Afghan exile and still owns property in Kabul and in Kunduz province near the Soviet border.

Kabul's favourite, Wali Khan Kukkukh, flitted back and forth across the moun-

tainous border for the first six decades of his 70 years but has curiously avoided visiting Afghanistan for the past 10 years.

I visited the fortress-like homes of both men, where each loudly denounced his rival as corrupt, a political has-been without support and an old heroin smuggler to boot.

But when asked whether they were enemies, each had the same calm response: "We are not enemies. We are relatives."

Nader Khan, 56, holds sway over the western end of the 38-km (24-mile) pass from his walled compound of three houses commanding the main road outside the dusty bazaar town of Landi Kotal.

A traditionally lavish host — dinner was lamb kebabs barbecued on sword-length skewers and washed down with Soviet champagne — he has made it his mission to disarm tribesmen coming back from fetching their free Kalashnikovs in Afghanistan.

The jow seems strange for a man whose servants carry the same firearm even while pouring breakfast tea. But Nader Khan says it must be done if the area is to be saved from Communist infiltration.

"There are many guns here, guns are allowed," he said, pointing to half-a-dozen armed bodyguards sitting nearby. "But what is not allowed is the gun of (Afghan President) Babrak Karmal."

A Kalashnikov is worth at least 16,000 rupees (1,000 dollars), a handsome sum in the barren pass where many people earn only a few hundred rupees a month.

But Nader Khan's private army, on Lashkar, is well versed in traditional Pashtun methods of persuasion. "If someone does not give up his gun voluntarily, the Lashkar will burn down his house."

He compared the Pakistanis who accept Afghan guns to the turcoots that Genghis Khan, the 12th century Mongol conqueror of central Asia, used as a fifth column in cities he was preparing to sack.

"Genghis Khan used to kill the people who helped him take over a city," said Nader Khan. "When the Russians come here, men like Wali Khan will be the first they kill."

Wali Khan, tall and stubble-bearded, laughed off his rival's dire warnings with another history lesson.

"Pakistan was only made in 1947, but we tribals have our own history," he said. "We and the Afghans share the same blood, the same language, the same religion and style of living."

Wali Khan raised his own Lashkar last year to campaign for greater tribal rights and against the Pakistani government's crack-down on the drug trade.

When his campaign began drawing thousands of tribemen to anti-government rallies, Islamabad responded in March by wheeling in 155mm artillery and blowing away most of his house near Jamrud at the eastern end of the pass.

In contrast to Landi Kotal where drugs are no longer openly sold in the smoke-smudged alleys of the crowded bazaar, pushers in Jamrud bring heavy lumps of opium and hashish right to buyers' cars.

Wali Khan, unrepentant amid the ruins of his partly-reconstructed compound, says he will take guns from Kabul as long as Afghan rebels are armed by Pakistan and the United States.

Both Islamabad and Washington deny arming the Afghan guerrillas, but Wali Khan charges that the United States backs them to take revenge on the Soviet Union for its loss in Vietnam.

He says Soviet forces might cross the border for pre-emptive strikes against the rebels on Pakistani territory.

"We feel the war will come to us because of them," he said. "At first we thought the Mujahideen (Islamic warriors) were good people but now 99 per cent of all tribals are against them."

Asked whether his men would now try to block the rebels from their area, Wali Khan said they would first have to stock enough of Kabul's Kalashnikovs to match the Afghan guerrillas' superior supplies.

An official in Peshawar, capital of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province, claimed the bribes Kabul pays in the pass are much better than Islamabad's. "There is no way we can match what they are paying," he said.

Instead, added the official, who asked not to be named, Pakistan is betting on the Pashtuns' traditional rivalries to fight the battle for it.

"Two kings cannot rule in one kingdom. Wali Khan used to be the king, but he has a lot of competition now," (Reuter).

AFGHANS GIVE FREE RIFLES

HK Standard 11/1

KHYBER PASS: Afghanistan is giving free Kalashnikov assault rifles to dissident tribesmen in Pakistan's lawless Khyber Pass to get them to help block Moslem rebel infiltrators, tribal chiefs say.

The Pashtun tribesmen feels naked without a rifle and a Kalashnikov is highly prized.

Now, he need only get a chit from a pro-Afghan chief and cross the mountains to Afghanistan to get one from the communist authorities, the chiefs said.

Up to 1,000 Kalashnikovs are said to have come in this way so far and more are expected.

Government officials in Peshawar say they are worried the arms could be turned against Pakistan and the Afghan rebels and refugees it harbours.

"These weapons may come free now," an official said. "But one day the tribals will have to do something for Afghanistan."

The Kalashnikov handouts are only the latest ploy in a long struggle between Pakistan and Afghanistan for the fickle loyalties of the Pashtun tribes on the Khyber Pass.

The tribal belt along the mountainous border has been autonomous since the days of the British raj.

The warrior tribes are famous for smuggling.

Pashtuns move freely between Pakistan and Afghanistan, whose government last month appealed to them to block Moslem rebels entering Afghanistan to fight the Soviet-backed Kabul rulers. — Reuter

د یکتیون بدی
د سری اور دی

"The Pashtun's enmity is like a smouldering fire."

From the Editor:

It's that time again. If you want to continue to receive this unique publication, and we certainly hope you do, you must renew your subscription. A form is enclosed for your convenience.

The FORUM tries to keep its readers apprised of what is being done, said & reported about Afghanistan. All the news that fits into our bi-monthly 36 pages, we print. You, our readers, must distinguish fact from fantasy. News from Kabul comes from Bakhtar Information Agency (BIA) telexes; proper & place names are spelled as they appeared in the article cited, making a nice variety.

We are planning to issue a directory of organizations involved with Afghanistan. We shall list the organization's name, its chief executive and/or the person who does the work, its address, telephone number & its distinguishing characteristics (in 100 words or less). Please tell us of any groups you know about.

As we don't subscribe to practically everything, we hope you will continue to send us articles, cartoons, information, suggestions, etc. The deadline for the next issue is 2/15.

Mary Ann Siegfried

MEETINGS & EVENTS

The BRITISH SOCIETY FOR MIDDLE EAST STUDIES will hold its annual conference at the Univ. of London from 7/6-9. For information write the Chairman, Middle East Center, SOAS, Malet St., London WC1E 7 HP England.

"Islamic Populations in Russia & Issues in Soviet Relations with its Islamic Neighbors" will be the subjects discussed at a day-long workshop at the Univ. of Pennsylvania on 3/1. For information write the MIDDLE EAST CENTER, 838 Williams Hall, Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305.

Afghanistan - A Threatened Culture was the subject of a seminar held at the SWEDISH INSTITUTE OF INT'L AFFAIRS in Stockholm on 12/6-8. Papers presented included "Cultural Changes among the Mujahideen & Muhajerin" by Louis Dupree, "Concepts of Personal, Moral & Social Disorder among Durrani Pashtuns in Northern Afghanistan" by Nancy Tapper, "Scholars, Saints & Sufis in Modern Afghanistan" by Bo Utas, "The Kushans - An Afghan Search for Roots" by Richard Frye, "Schools, the Press & Political Parties" by Ludwig Adamec, "Social Patterns in Peace & War among Herati People" by Reidar Grønhaug, "The Afghan Resistance Movement between the Fight for Liberation & Social Emancipation" by Jan-Heeren Grevemeyer, "Modern Political Culture & Traditional Resistance" by Olivier Roy, "The Afghan Resistance - Achievements & Problems" by Moh'd Eshaq, "An Assessment of the New Mujahideen Alliance" by Sabahuddin Kushkaki, "A Local Perspective on the Incipient Resistance in Afghanistan" by Jan Ovesen, "Ecology & the War in Afghanistan" by Terje Skogland, "Effects of the War on the Agricultural Situation in Afghanistan" by Moh'd Qasim Yusufi, "Education in Afghanistan, Past & Present - A Problem for the Future" by S.B. Majrooh, "Afghan Education During the War" by Batin Shah Safi, "Efforts towards Self-Reliance among Refugees" by Alfred Janata, "Afghan Nomads Trapped in Pakistan" by Bernt Glatzer, "The Role of the VOLAGS" by Nancy Hatch Dupree, "Soviet Concerns in Central Asia & Soviet Policy in Afghanistan" by Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, "Soviet & Western Scholars on Baluchi & Pakhtun Politics in Pakistan" by Erland Jansson & "The Ethnic Factor in Afghanistan's Future" by Eden Naby. [Abstracts of some of these papers appear on p. 3].

Margaret Mills presented a paper on "Afghan Popular Romances & Creative Consciousness" at the American Folklore Society meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, 10/16-20.

Continued on p. 27

The Afghan crisis, six years old this month, continues to evade solution. This week in Geneva a United Nations under-secretary general moderates a session of negotiations. There have been recent indications of a possible change in Soviet policy. The U.S. has reportedly offered to stop aiding the rebels if the Soviets withdraw their troops. But the unfortunate fact is that the situation on the ground in Afghanistan seems likely to frustrate any attempt at a negotiated peace that respects Afghanistan's independence and right of self-determination.

The Soviets have created a mess that cannot be resolved through superpower negotiations or U.N. mediation. The Afghan Humpty Dumpty has been broken. At present, no negotiating formula can end the fighting, let alone restore the previous situation of an independent, pluralistic state, deferential to Moscow in matters of its external security yet not unfriendly to the U.S.

A Superpower Issue

The Westernized pre-revolutionary elite in Afghanistan has been decimated and scattered into exile. The tiny pro-Soviet left remains politically isolated, divided by a seemingly unbridgeable factional split, and totally discredited by association with the foreign occupying force. Armed resistance to the Soviet occupation has led to the emergence of new leaders, the creation of a new, albeit heterogeneous, Islamic ideology, and resulted in a new balance of power among the country's diverse tribal and ethnic groups.

The Soviet occupation has, of course, chilled U.S.-Soviet relations. Indeed, as the crisis has dragged on, relations have worsened. With full backing from Congress, the U.S. has increased its commitment to the Afghan resistance fighters. Meanwhile, Moscow remains bogged down in a conflict it cannot seem to win and from which it cannot extricate itself without a serious blow to its prestige.

Because Afghanistan has become a superpower issue, it might seem logical that the conflict can be resolved by joint U.S.-Soviet action. For instance, Zbigniew Brzezinski has suggested a linked settlement of the Afghanistan and Nicaragua conflicts based on "external neutralization and internal self-determination." Others have sought to revive hopes for the U.N.-sponsored talks on the basis of President Reagan's willingness to "consider guarantees for any agreements already reached."

Such proposals dodge the complex bilateral U.S.-Soviet issues involved, as well as the realities of the domestic Afghan scene. The Soviets have placed themselves in a rut in Afghanistan, have foreclosed their options. In the Nicaraguan crisis, the U.S. still has its options open. In this narrow sense, the Soviet

stake in Afghanistan is greater than the U.S. stake in Nicaragua. Nor do the two crises pose comparable types of problems that would be amenable to parallel resolution.

A formula based on the negotiated cessation of external involvement by outside powers in Nicaragua and Afghanistan presumably would serve U.S. interests better in both cases, and hence appears to be aimed at influencing public opinion rather than being a realistic concept for a settlement. Moscow could counter this proposal with a more straightforward offer to limit its support for the Sandinistas in return for reductions in U.S. aid for the Afghan resistance, or act on an earlier implied threat to increase its aid to Nicaragua in retaliation for stepped up U.S. assistance to the Afghan guerrillas. Either way, the linkage with the Nicaraguan conflict is unpromising.

Nor do the ongoing U.N.-sponsored "indirect" talks between Pakistan and the Soviet-backed Afghan regime offer much hope. Pakistan has made a number of procedural concessions, but it has run out of negotiating room. The key remaining issue is the critical one: Whether any agreement between Islamabad and Kabul not to interfere in each other's internal affairs (the main Soviet goal) will be linked to a Soviet commitment to withdraw forces within a specific, early time frame. Pakistan cannot afford to abandon this linkage. The most appropriate kind of assistance remains a matter of some dispute, and hard questions have yet to be addressed fully.

Pakistan's Delicate Position

Rather than focusing attention at this time on unpromising proposals for superpower settlements or solely on strengthening the tactical capabilities of the Afghan resistance, the U.S. might usefully give more attention to improving the political environment of the conflict. Measures to encourage greater political cooperation within the Afghan resistance to raise its international status are of particular importance. The U.S. also must be mindful of the delicate position of the Pakistan government, including its narrowing negotiating options, and must avoid making it more difficult for Islamabad to maintain its courageous Afghan policy.

Revealing articles in elite Soviet journals suggest that while Moscow is committed to a long-term struggle, the party bureaucracy and military hierarchy, not to mention the ill-paid and badly treated common soldier, find carrying out their "internationalist duty" to be a demoralizing task, at best. The U.S. should find ways to exploit this underlying pessimism. Dispirited Soviet troops can be worth as much as weapons in the hands

Finally, the U.S. can beneficially keep the pressure on Soviet leaders in international forums. This goal would not likely be advanced by bargaining stances that link Afghanistan with other regional conflicts. The likely result would only be to weaken international consensus and feed existing fears in Pakistan and among the Afghan resistance that the U.S. may one-day strike a cynical bargain with the U.S.S.R. What we must await is the day the Soviets feel forced to raise the issue of Afghanistan themselves. It will not, unfortunately, come soon.

AFGHAN SCHOOLS LURE PAKISTANIS
Tom Heneghan writes in the *SCMP*

12/19

MOHAMMAD Tahir was angry at being arrested only a few metres from Afghanistan and frustrated by all the fuss Pakistani frontier officials were making over him.

"I just want to study medicine," the 20-year-old protested when asked why he was illegally enrolled in the University at Jalalabad, only 65 km beyond the dusty border post of Torkham. ***

The Government here is getting increasingly worried by young Pakistanis like Tahir who are taking up offers of a free university education in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. *** Afghanistan began offering free tuition, room and board more than two years ago, the official said, but the programme is only now reaching a size that has the Government worried.

The Governor of the Northwest Frontier province, Lieutenant General Fazle Haq, announced in September that illegal graduates from communist universities would be barred from Government jobs in the province. ***

But a growing number of students have been slipping across the border without permission to study in Jalalabad, a favourite place for Northwest Frontier students because instruction is in their native Pashtu.

Some go to Kabul, where classes are in Persian, and a few continue to Moscow, Soviet Central Asia and Eastern Europe. Most students have opted for the five-year medical course across the border because they failed to get into medical schools at home. ***

According to Riaz Khan, who unlike Tahir has eluded arrest for over two years of travelling between Jalalabad and his home in Peshawar, students seeking admission to Jalalabad must belong to the leftwing National Democratic Party.

Officials at the Northwest Frontier Home and Tribal Affairs Ministry said they knew of only 164 students in the Jalalabad medical school, but Riaz said the real number was far higher.

"The Afghans all belong to the Communist Party. About 50 of them work for Khad (the Afghan secret police)," Riaz estimated. Then, laughing, he said: "Five per cent of the Pakistani work for Khad and another 30 per cent for Pakistani intelligence." ***

About 300 Pakistanis are now enrolled at Kabul University, Riaz said, but officials there seem to be limiting admissions to keep it from becoming as overcrowded with Pakistanis as Jalalabad is.

Once in Kabul, the students are monitored by an exiled Pakistani leftist, Mr Ajmal Khattak, who selects the brighter ones for sending on to Moscow and Eastern Europe, he said.

According to the conservative Karachi weekly *Takbeer*, over 500 have been sent through Kabul on Afghan passports this year. ***

Both Tahir and Riaz said there were no Soviet instructors in Jalalabad and medical students did not have to take Russian-language courses or learn Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Those going to the Soviet Union have to take a year of Russian lessons in Kabul, where the Soviet presence is more marked, or Moscow.

Many are put off by studying in Russian, Riaz said, but there are compensations. "Most of them go for the girls." "In Jalalabad and in Kabul, the girls are Muslim, there is no friendship. But in Russia, it is easy to get a girl." ***

THE STORY OF AN ATTEMPTED COUP
issued by Sur Gul Speen in Peshawar
on 12/3:

A group of 56 senior Afghan army officers including several generals have been arrested in Kabul following an attempted coup aimed at overthrowing the Babrak regime. Sources in Kabul say the coup was planned to begin at 9 a.m. on 11/6 & that the operation was expected to be over within 5 hours. The coup involved Forces 14 & 4, both tank divisions, & the Directorate of Reconnaissance of the Defense Ministry. They planned to attack the Central Committee & Revolutionary Council headquarters as well as Kabul Radio. After taking control they planned to oust Babrak but still maintain a Communist style government.

Both Force 15 & Force 4 have a history of playing roles in previous coups in Afghanistan. They were responsible for the overthrow of King Zahir Shah & former presidents Moh'd Daud & Noor Moh'd Taraki. Russian advisers to Forces 15 & 4 & to the Directorate of Reconnaissance supported the attempted coup, but their fate is not known - they have not been seen since the attempted coup.

The coup leaders were arrested only hours before it was to start. The further arrest of senior officers followed & later junior officers. The assistant to the Deputy Defense Minister & the assistant to the head of the Directorate of Reconnaissance were also arrested.

Details of the planned coup were leaked by the Russian wife of the coup leader, the head of the Directorate of Reconnaissance, Gen'l Khalil. He was unaware that his wife was a senior KGB agent. She is believed to have advised either her superiors in the KGB or her father who is a member of the Central Committee in Moscow. It is believed that Gen'l Khalil had hoped that after seizing power in Kabul, he would have been able to win the support of the Central Committee in Moscow through his father-in-law.

Sources say that plans for the coup developed after the Russian-Afghan assault

on the mujahideen in Paktia Province which began in the last week of August. The campaign failed & took a heavy toll of Russian-Afghan forces with an estimated 170 tanks & trucks, 7 jets & 3 helicopters destroyed. Infantry casualties are believed to have been about 4,000. Forces 15 & 4 were among those taking part in the assault & information was supplied by the Directorate of Reconnaissance. After the attack failed & the heavy losses became apparent, the Russian Supreme Command in Afghanistan & Babrak were highly critical & threatened to penalize those involved, particularly the gen'l commander of Paktia forces, Forces 15 & 4, the Directorate of Reconnaissance & their Russian advisers. Disgruntled senior officers then plotted the coup & won the tacit support of their Russian advisers.

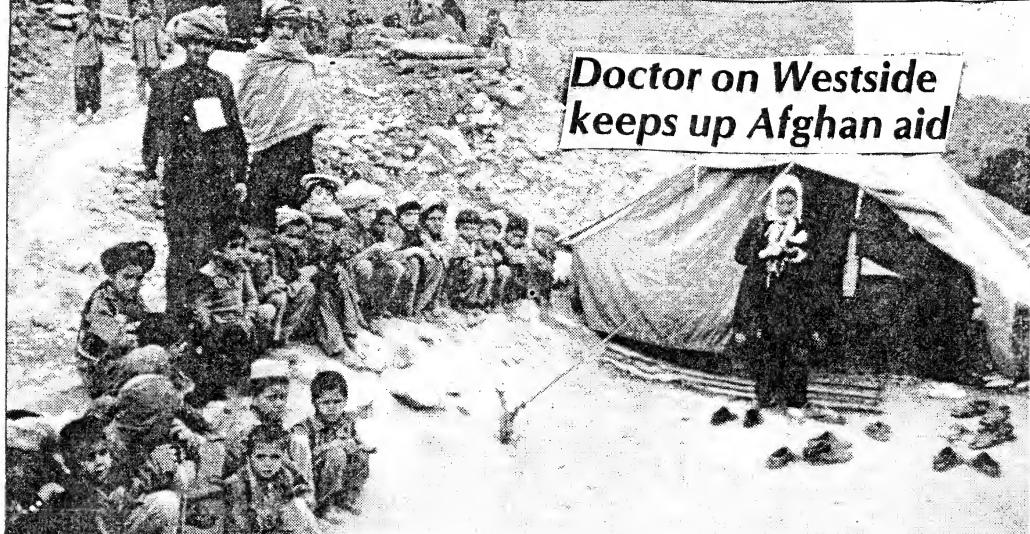
The coup had far-reaching effects with several generals in other areas of command, who were under suspicion, being transferred. There were also some changes in the gov't. There were several changes in ministerial portfolios, including the sacking of the then Defense Minister, Gen. Abdul Qadir, from the secretariat of the Revolutionary Council. On 11/21, Radio Kabul announced the changes in the Politburo, Revolutionary Council & the Central Committee but did not explain the real reason behind the moves.

Another result of the coup has been that more members of the Parcham faction of the PDPA have been brought into power. Many of the coup's supporters came from the Khalq faction. Sources say that the remaining senior officers of the Khalq faction who have kept their jobs have done so because of strong support in the Kremlin. It is believed that the Kremlin is divided in its support for the PDPA & some Russian leaders back the Parcham faction, while others prefer the Khalq group.

In another development the government has tried to press into service retired army & experienced civilian officers to fill the gaps created by the arrests. It has threatened to hang anyone who refuses to serve.

په زور کلني نه کړي

"Community is not
created by force."



Doctor on Westside keeps up Afghan aid

INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CORP

Children patiently wait for medical treatment in this makeshift tent-turned-clinic in a devastated Afghanistan village

Starvation. Execution. Torture. Disease. Children being maimed when they pick up toy trucks or pens that turn out to be bombs.

It's much the same now in Afghanistan as it was more than a year ago when Dr. Robert Simon visited Afghanistan with two other doctors and two premed students. • • •

Simon is founder of International Medical Corps, based in Brentwood. From the original handful of people who started it, the corps has grown to 2,000 members. It now has four units that go into Afghanistan and hopes to have five units as early as next month. From September 1984 to this June, IMC spent \$393,251 in donated cash and goods and services on the Afghan effort, with most cash donations going for medical supplies.

IMC has plans this January to open a training school for Afghan medics in Peshawar, Pakistan. The effort will be funded by a \$675,000 grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development. • • •

IMC was founded because international relief organizations would not let American doctors go into the country under their banner to aid the Afghan people. Simon said the Soviet-dominated Afghan government won't permit Western journalists or relief agencies into the country because they would witness atrocities as children being hurt by toy bombs or being set on fire by Soviet troops.

According to Simon, 1 million Afghans have been killed in the war in a country of just 16 million people that is the size of Texas. One out of every three Afghans lives in a refugee camp, the largest refugee population on Earth. • • •

"Even with the thousands and thousands of patients that we're taking care of each month, there's just too much to do. . . . We initially thought maybe we could set up eight units in the most needed places.

"There need to be 20-30 units. They need to be expanded and supplies need to be brought in much more.

We're making inroads. I couldn't say it's a drop in a bathtub of water but it's maybe a tablespoon or two."

Simon is excited, however, about the clinic. He said Afghans enrolled in the course will learn to diagnose 10 of the most common diseases in the country, to treat fractures and do minor surgical procedures and immunizations. To get the AID grant, IMC had to agree Americans in the organization would not cross the border into Afghanistan anymore. Therefore, the courses will be taught mostly by Americans, while the field units entering the country will be British, Canadian and Australian and Afghan. • • •

He said motivations of the non-Afghan medical personnel who belong to IMC come in two categories. Often they are of Eastern European backgrounds who "feel the Afghans are the only ones who have really fought back." Simon said the Afghans still retain 85 percent of their land after six years of fighting against a better-armed enemy.

The others who go feel what is happening in Afghanistan is genocide akin to Hitler's genocide.

None of the doctors or nurses is paid a penny, only their airfare. Simon gave up his Malibu home to help finance the first medical unit; he now lives in a Westwood apartment.

Simon sees two possible outcomes for the Afghans. Either they won't get any aid and will be driven from their country or exterminated; or if they get anti-aircraft missiles, they could defend their villages.

"From a medical standpoint, we can't lose, in a sense. We're there to provide medical care regardless of who wins. Regardless of what happens in Afghanistan, we still have saved thousands and thousands of lives and we're affecting tens of thousands more by antibiotics and other things we've given them."

For additional information about IMC, write to P.O. Box 49525, Los Angeles, 90049.

Weekend Outlook (Santa Monica, CA) 11/22

Islamic Republic of Iran: unnoticed asylum country

Not many people are aware of the fact that about two million Afghans have found refuge in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Since the beginning of the Afghan exodus in 1980, Iran has in fact opened its doors wide to all those who came to request asylum. This country has provided refugees with the necessary assistance and care, allowing them to participate in its economic life. Since

It is market day in the main square of Golehshahr. People argue about the price of sheep, weight, measure. Golehshahr is one of the Afghan neighbourhoods of the large town of Mashhad, situated in the north-east of Iran. Near the border with the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. No less than 250,000 of the 1.2 million inhabitants of the town are registered Afghans. Yet there are probably many more if one adds to those who have not registered themselves. Refugees, optimally by the white or black Afghans that they wind around their heads, they populate the entire town and have spread far beyond the neighbourhood that they themselves built and where they live as a community.

The vast majority of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are self-sufficient. They make a living above all through agriculture. Even if they are not legally entitled to do so, they are only an Iranian can have a shop. But, in practice, many of them manage their shops alone and collect the profits. Those who have just arrived and who have not yet integrated with them sell their animals at the market, give up their pastoral tradition and decide to adapt themselves to the urban way of life.

Mashhad provides a reflection of the situation of Afghans in Iran, from south, from east to west in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Afghans have, naturally enough, mixed with the local population. Of course there were, and still are, clashes with the inhabitants – inevitable in any case of situation. The refugees, above all in such great numbers, were sometimes viewed with mistrust, or shunned at first as immigrants often are in any country. But the Iranian government and local authority level, nothing was done to discourage them, quite the contrary. One can only be impressed by the way in which this "country has opened its doors to its brothers in Islam" in quest of asylum.

Since the first days of the Afghan exodus, in late December 1979, hundreds of thousands of Afghans began to cross the Iranian border, as others

Those who have just arrived will give up their pastoral tradition and adapt themselves to the urban way of life.

were doing on the Pakistani border. Very quickly, the figures swelled to the same huge proportions. Today the number of Afghans according to the Iranian authorities, amounts to almost 1.8 million. But it seems that they are much more numerous since far from all have been registered.

As in any situation involving a huge number of refugees, the numbers quickly surpassed existing administrative capacities. A census was undertaken from the outset. But priorities had to be established. The Iranian authorities considered that it

then, the Afghans have not stopped arriving.

Today, they are everywhere. They are not only in the east, near the Afghan and Pakistani borders, but also in the south, in the centre, in the west... In small villages, in towns, in ports, and even in the capital. Our special correspondent covered 5,500 km to meet them. She was struck by their numbers and how well integrated they were.

was more urgent to supply all the people arriving, most of whom were totally destitute, than to identify, shelter and clothe them.

For a long time, the Islamic Republic of Iran bore all the costs related to this influx alone. Only in 1984, UNHCR became involved. The office of UNHCR's local representative was opened only in October 1984. For four years, the world heard little of the huge influx with which Iran had been confronted. That influx made it, as in Pakistan, a second country in the world for the number of refugees corresponding to the definition of the 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 Protocol on the status of refugees to which Iran had already adhesed in 1975.

Today, the Islamic Republic of Iran is still shouldering responsibility for most refugee assistance. In 1984, UNHCR spent \$7.5 million trying to supplement the enormous efforts made by the Council for Afghan Refugees (CAR) and the Iranian government which, within the Ministry of the Interior, is responsible for co-ordinating aid to refugees. In 1985, the High Commissioner's Office will, with the Iranian government, have spent \$10.5 million. The amount is envisaged for 1986, if the necessary contributions are paid into its General Programmes. As for the CAR, it has been given a budget of 4 million rials for 1986 (3 million Iranian), added to which figure is the share allocated to refugees by each Ministry: Health, Labour, Education, etc. Since this expenditure is considerably higher than the government is trying to obtain from aid and from the international community and its requests to UNHCR are becoming more urgent.

The Iranians have made the Afghans very welcome. But it must be stated that they are used to seeing them. They are their brothers and are used to employing them. Well before the events of 1979, the average number of Afghan workers in Iran, seasonal or not, was at least 600,000. They included tradesmen, workers and farmers, as well as those who chose to remain on the Iranian side of the border. Counted amongst the Afghan refugees are also those people who had settled in Iran a long time ago and who have remained.

Over the years, arrivals continued, despite an administrative procedure not yet fully established, but eventually very efficient, begins. The Afghans must register themselves, briefly explain why they left, prove their refugee status in a few words. At each front-

none has been barred to them. With or without refugee cards, they are found in most of the provinces. Some will register their families and settle in Iran, others will settle spontaneously in the regions where they had already come to work occasionally. But mostly, the government decides to send them to a given region, usually with a take into account of local needs, to try and ensure a better distribution of refugees amongst the provinces than the natural distribution which took place from the start. Because the Afghans enter from the west, the eastern provinces are the most crowded.

The refugees must not remain dependent upon assistance. Enabling them to find work and to earn a living is the best way of solving their problems and alleviating the burden on the local authorities. Hence, the vast majority of Afghans in Iran (those with cards (there are strict checks) for the same wages as Iranians, and many make a good living. A regular work in construction, agriculture, industry or commerce industries. But those with qualifications – technicians, doctors, teachers – can also practise their trade or profession if they find work. One of the durable solutions envisaged for the future is the return of the projects which have already been launched on an experimental basis in the Bam region, in the south of the country, and studies have been undertaken in 13 agricultural areas.

Helping young people to adapt to the Iranian way of life is another concern. Iranian schools have been opened up to them without discrimination from the first day of primary school until the end of secondary school. Those who want to go to university can do so if places are available. Where there are more of

them, in the neighbourhoods, towns and "Afghan" villages that have sprung up just about everywhere, they have been opened especially for them. Classes are even planned to be improved in temporary reception centres, such as that in Bardir in Kerman province, the south of the country. This is one of the most recent centres, which is still being built. It serves both as a temporary reception centre and as a quarantine centre for families who have just arrived. They are brought there directly in order to de-contaminate them. There are also the Palestinian border, since there are too few of these camps and they are overcrowded. The Iranians are careful to avoid overcrowding, mainly because of the fear of epidemics.

The refugees who pass through Bardir are still accommodated de-naturalised persons, that is to say that the authorities have begun to build for them but have not yet been completed, although there is already a school: a few spaces marked out by walls made from corrugated iron. The children are separated from the boys and girls (separated according to the Islamic tradition followed both by the Afghans and the Iranians), take courses in languages or maths as well as in the local way of life. Their days must not waste their time either. Outside, a loudspeaker broadcasts news in Farsi (a language the Afghans and Iranians have in common), on the Islamic Revolution. At the end of the day, they must adapt to the country. Moreover, while the adults keep their traditional costume, at school, the girls must wear the chador. ANNICK BILLARD



tier post where most Afghans arrive, above all in the province of Khorasan. The CAR sends a representative specially responsible for refugee reception. On their arrival, the Afghans are then sent to one of the reception and quarantine centres in the east of the country (10 are planned, with a total of a total of 20 provided for). Their capacity: about 5,000 persons each. The refugees stay there from three to seven days, undergoing tests and analyses to check whether they are in a state of health. Those who have not yet been vaccinated against the most common diseases are inoculated.

With the influx of Afghan refugees, Iran has suffered from a backlog not foreseen at the beginning: the state of health of the Afghans is generally rather poor and they have brought with them diseases such as malaria, cholera, measles, tuberculosis and leprosy to a country where they no longer existed. Hospitals became crowded, both with Afghans and with Iranian patients. The authorities are now trying to carry out these medical tests more systematically by persuading the Afghans to enter at the border posts and to have themselves registered. If they do, through one of the 130 points provided (10 in Khorasan province alone), in addition to undergoing these tests – and the appropriate treatment which follows – they receive a refugee card which legally entitles them to education and employment. But many do not cross the border at these posts and thus do not have a medical check-up. It is estimated that only 10 per cent of the refugees have been registered in the reception and quarantine centres until now, while the others have entered unofficially. This leads one to think that their numbers are higher than the estimates indicate.

Another fact to be noted: the Afghans who enter Iran having first passed through Pakistan are not yet fully established, but eventually very efficient, begins. The Afghans must register themselves, briefly explain why they left, prove their refugee status in a few words. At each front-

On the construction sites in Tehran

It has been estimated that hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees currently live and work in Tehran. Many of them are employed in major urban projects.

(\$ 1,000) per month. They are paid by the metre. The workers laying the natural gas pipes have nothing to complain about financially, and thus a higher salary. "Stone carriers" are slightly less well off. Their job consists of manually clearing away large blocks which often belong to the Iranian workers who have obtained the contracts. They are not paid by the hour, but are thus assured of being paid the same wages as Iranian workers. On average, the refugee workers earn 45,000 rials (\$ 500) per month. These contracts will last until the project is completed, but a Afghan refugees.

It is three o'clock in the afternoon and time for a break. The men emerge from their holes and drink a glass of water. They pour the liquid into a glass, dunking a sugar-hump into it, and sucking on the sugar but take a few sips of the precious hot drink. "They are good employees, they work hard, they are never late in the morning, because they sleep on site," says the supervisor. Indeed, the 70 Afghans currently employed to install the natural gas network in Tehran sleep in the same place. They sleep in tents bearing a strong resemblance to refugee tents, four to six workers per tent.

The trench diggers are the happiest. If they work fast, they can earn a lot of money – up to 90,000 rials

per month. They are paid by the metre. The workers laying the natural gas pipes have nothing to complain about financially, and thus a higher salary. "Stone carriers" are slightly less well off. Their job consists of manually clearing away large blocks which often belong to the Iranian workers who have obtained the contracts. They are not paid by the hour, but are thus assured of being paid the same wages as Iranian workers. On average, the refugee workers earn 45,000 rials (\$ 500) per month. These contracts will last until the project is completed, but a Afghan refugees.

These are just a few of the hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees who have settled in Tehran. According to the government there are more than 150,000 Afghans in the capital, which gives a figure of 300,000. Here again the statistics are not wholly accurate for the simple reason that most of the refugees came to the capital spontaneously. The only certainty is that the Afghan workers, especially those employed on the construction sites, are mostly young, single men who go wherever they can find work. All of them manage to survive without having to resort to financial assistance, and some of them even manage to send money to their families living elsewhere in the country, in the rural areas for example. Once the construction project is completed, they will go back to them, and turn their hand to agricultural labour, remembering how in Af-

ghanistan they had raised crops or livestock. During the religious festivals — which there are many throughout the year — they also join their families and make pilgrimages to holy places.

As an insurance against unemployment and in order to guarantee a decent wage, all the Afghans encountered in Tehran had taken the precaution of requesting a refugee card. Some of them — although not all — had undergone a medical and dental examination. They leave off their turbans and are hardly distinguishable from the local residents. Yet Afghans we saw in Iran we shall never forget them as they do not have any real friends here. In the evenings we gather together with other Afghans and talk of the day when we can go home."

ANNICK BILLARD

Well before the events of 1979, the average number of Afghan workers in Iran was at least 600,000.

Interview with Mr. Hassan Bashir, Chairman of the Council for Afghan Refugees (CAR)

REFUGEES: What are the official figures about the number of Afghans who have settled in the Islamic Republic of Iran?

H. Bashir: The estimation is between 500,000 to 1,000,000. The rough breakdown is 600,000 in the Province of Khorasan, 120,000 in the Province of Sistan-Baluchistan, 150,000 in the Province of Isfahan and about 100,000 in the Provinces of Kerman, Tehran, and approximately 150,000 in the Provinces of Fars and Yazd. We cannot give exact statistics about the number of people who have moved because of the movement of refugees across the border between Iran and Afghanistan. A plan is now underway to arrive at exact statistics.

REFUGEES: Are there any new arrivals and if so, how many each month?

H. Bashir: Refugees are constantly arriving in certain provinces, the maximum number being 10,000 refugees per month. Of course, it is an estimation. Also there are Afghan refugees arriving in Iran from Pakistan.

REFUGEES: So many people, what does that mean in terms of budgeting?

H. Bashir: The CAR allocates a direct budget for refugees. The level of that budget this year is around 1 billion rials (approximately \$ 44 million), and this is because it is allocated for the establishment at camps, food, transportation, various basic health projects. Aside from that since refugees do not all live in camps and have散居 (scattered) in various parts of the country, they are entitled to all the privileges of Iranian nationals in terms of health and education. The cost of which is absorbed by various government organizations, as with Iranian nationals. For this reason, it is very difficult to calculate that budget because it is indirect. And the cost of transportation of these refugees must be covered by the government agencies, for example, the Gendarmerie or the Armed Forces. There are also small

organizations which help the local organizations, and UNHCR activities since 1983. But this has not been sufficient.

REFUGEES: When was the CAR created, and how is it organized?

H. Bashir: The Council for Afghan Refugees was established in 1979 and now it represents all the provinces of Iran with the exception of some of the western provinces. It is a council whose members represent the ministries that participate in its activities. The members of CAR report directly to the Vice Minister of the Interior in charge of political affairs. In the provinces the head of CAR is usually the Vice Governor. The head of CAR in Isfahan Province, for example, is a professor of law at Khatami University, now director of a mutual assistance agency for Afghans in Manhattan.

Professionals face problems securing employment in their fields.

"They start out with high aspirations and are swiftly discouraged by the difficulties of finding work commensurate with their training and experience," said Professor Hashemi.

Recertification of professional qualifications means repassing exams and can take years. The result is that a number of professionals are now working as waiters and housekeepers in Denver. And an ex-Minister of Agriculture drives a cab in Washington D.C.

Resettlement agency workers are critical of some Afghans who expect out-of-wafer and educational assistance rather than recognizing that they must accept, at least initially, entry-level, often menial jobs.

After a period of disillusion, a significant and increasing proportion of the Afghan population is beginning to see themselves to be astute entrepreneurs. In New York, which has the largest Afghan population after California, more than 100 fast food shops have been opened by Afghans, and both chicken and chicken in direct competition with the well-established chains. Similar fast food outlets have been set up by Afghans in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California, Washington D.C. and elsewhere.

Elsewhere Afghans have developed other sectoral specialties in Los Angeles and San Francisco, chances are high that an Afghan will move into one of the more prestigious parking lots. In Washington D.C., there are a number of Afghan-owned cab companies. And in Nebraska

with Mr. Nezam's mother and their four children, three years ago. They came because, according to Nezam, the geography and climate are almost identical to his native Kabul. "The only difference is that here the smog is caused by automobile. In Kabul it's woodfired,"

In addition to Denver's setting and the presence of a growing Afghan community, Nezam hoped to benefit from the State's role as a major developing regional center. However, having reached the pinnacle of a diplomatic career in Afghanistan, he was not managing to establish an even slightly comparable niche in his country of exile.

Mr. and Mrs. Nezam own a small house on the outskirts of Denver's urban sprawl. They live on Mrs. Nezam's earnings as a typist and money brought in by their second daughter who had to give up her science studies at university to help support the family.

The Nezam family is not untypical.

The transition to life in the U.S. has not been easy for the 14,000 Afghans

who have been selected for resettlement.

Unlike other groups of recent

refugee arrivals in the U.S., the majority of Afghans are illiterate.

Afghan refugees admitted to the U.S. are given a 12-week orientation

program, although others from the region are also considered. The State Department has recommended the same level for 1986. *

close family in the US, they have had to work for a company or the US Government, are eligible as refugees to the United States who have

meet these criteria and are selected to be resettled. They have waiting from a few months to a couple of years. The State Department's Refugee Bureau estimates that there is a backlog of 100,000 Afghans in Iran and India eligible to wait to depart to the US. 80% of the Afghan who apply for resettlement in the US are processed in Pakistan. 15% are processed in India and the remainder in Kabul.

In 1982 strict eligibility criteria were introduced for Afghans. Previously, all Afghans who met the refugee definition could be considered by US immigration "circular riders" — those who are responsible for final processing of their visa applications in South Asia. The result has been a drop in the number of Afghans resettled in the US from 4,456 in 1982 to 2,500 in the year ending June 1985.

Afghan refugees admitted to the US come under the regional ceiling for the Near East and South Asia. In 1985 this was set at 5,000. Afghan immigrants have been principal admissions admitted under the refugee program, although others from the region are also considered. The State Department has recommended the same level for 1986. *

NICHOLAS VAN PRAAG

REFUGEES — October 1985

By midnight each night, they bag 800 loaves and stacked them in the round — all coming out of a 500-degree oven, toasted golden and sprinkled with sesame and black seed needs. Nezam said his shop is the area's only supplier of the increasingly popular Afghan bread. *

Nezam never aspired to be a baker, but, in 1978, Nezam's wife, Malal, and their three children packed up their meager possessions, loaded them in the back of a black Russian Volga automobile, and headed for Kabul following allegations that Nezam worked as an agent for the CIA. *

They left in a hurry, taking with them a change of summer clothes, \$5,000, diapers and milk for the baby, and some knowledge of English. Their plans were so secret that Nezam and his wife kept them from their children until they had set off. The children were told they were going to school, and Nezam was told to "keep quiet" about it. Malal Nezam said, "Why in the world didn't you tell me?" Malal Nezam said, "But, we could not trust anyone. My son started to cry because he had two dogs at home. My daughter said, 'Don't worry, I didn't bring my homework.' "

The family traveled through Pakistan and then to London and eventually ended up in the Washington area. "I just wanted to come to United States," Nezam said. "I just wanted to come to United States," Nezam said. After cooking pizzas in the District for a while, and selling naan on the side, Nezam and other family members decided there might be a larger market for the leaves that they had been popular and plentiful from North Africa to India.

Two years ago, Nezam joined with two other relatives, including his brother-in-law, Dawood Moosa, 49, another refugee, and the former owner of a Kabul distributorship that sold Toyota, Mercedes, Caterpillar tractors and other equipment.

They started small, baking 50 loaves a day, using the same recipe that she had learned in Kabul, mixing the dough in a giant tub, then letting it rise on a rummaged up, amateurish table, under plastic to keep it moist.

The bread immediately did well in local places as Georgetown and McLean, Virginia, and Northwest Washington, despite cultural problems.

"We found that when we gave a piece of bread to the Americans, they really loved it, but they didn't know what to do with it," said Moosa.

The bread was long and flat, designed for Afghans who know how to eat a piece of bread and scoop food with it, the traditional American way of eating," Moosa said.

So, they adjusted the recipe slightly to accommodate American eating habits, making a rounded loaf so it could be sliced, and making the flat bread thicker, so it could be sliced and toasted.

Today, the bakers sell to a 90

-percent American market and have

54 retail outlets that include gour-

metos, specialty and major grocery chain stores, where a 20-ounce loaf sells for \$1.55. *



REFUGEES — November 1985

an Afghan community has sprung up around the office for Afghan Studies at the University of Omaha. The difficulties of adjustment experienced by many Afghans in the U.S. is certainly in part due to the realization that after what can be years of waiting

Deported Afghan Refugee

By MARVINE HOWE

An Afghan refugee was deported this week to Pakistan, where he risks imprisonment or being shuttled from country to country in search of asylum, immigration lawyers said.

An immigration judge acknowledged the refugee's fear of persecution and accordingly instructed that he not be returned to Afghanistan, the lawyers said, but the judge rejected the man's request for political asylum for himself and his family.

The man, a 28-year-old identified by his lawyers only as Ezatullah in order to protect his family in Afghanistan, was the sixth Afghan seeking asylum to be deported this year, the lawyers said.

'Sent Into Orbit'

They said that two of the six had been tried in Pakistan for illegal entry and were in prison there, and that the three others had been "sent into orbit" — shuttled around by airlines until a country agreed to take them in.

Afghans who arrive here for resettlement have been denied asylum, even if they qualify as refugees, on the ground they could have obtained asylum elsewhere, such as in Pakistan, according to legal sources.

Ezatullah, who told lawyers he had been tortured and imprisoned by Afghan authorities for 40 days for deserting three times from the Soviet-backed army, had been detained by immigration authorities since arriving with his wife and baby last May.

Thursday his wife and their 11-month-old baby, who had been released on parole when he was detained, were served surrender notices, but they failed to appear at Kennedy International Airport.

No Comment From Authorities

Lawyers said Ezatullah left Thursday on the regular Lufthansa flight to Karachi, Pakistan.

Requests for comment from Scott Blackman, assistant deputy director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in New York, received no response yesterday.

"What we fear is that Ezatullah will be jailed for illegal entry to Pakistan or sent into orbit or worse — that is, be sent back to Afghanistan by some low-level official," said a director of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, Arthur Helton.

The Lawyers Committee, which has led the legal battle here on behalf of Afghan refugees, asked the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and Pakistani human rights lawyers to monitor Ezatullah's case after his deportation.

"This case demonstrates the contradictions and perversity of U.S. policy on Afghan refugees," Mr. Helton said. "While Washington calls Afghans freedom fighters and claims to support the Afghan cause," the Immigration and Naturalization Service detains and deport Afghan refugees without passports issued by a Government with which the U.S. does not have diplomatic relations."

There are 32 Afghan refugees, including two women, at the immigration service's detention facility on Varick Street in Manhattan charged with having questionable travel documents or none at all, authorities said.

They have all requested political asylum and are to remain in detention until a decision is reached on their cases. The process can take up to two years.

The Afghan prisoners conducted a 10-day hunger strike last March and a 15-day hunger strike in September to protest their being held.

Suit Filed in April

Last April, the Lawyers Committee and the Civil Rights Clinic of the New York University School of Law filed a suit challenging the detention of 30 Afghans and an Iranian on the ground that their incarceration "violates domestic and international law."

The suit, which is still pending in Federal District Court in Manhattan, has frozen the deportation of those refugees, but that freeze does not apply to recent arrivals.

In a hearing on Oct. 11, an immigration judge, Annette Elstein, denied the application for asylum by Ezatullah, his wife and baby but agreed not to deport them to Afghanistan.

The claim for asylum was complicated by conflicting reports regarding the wife's brother, a well-known rebel leader who was said to have defected to the Soviet side of the Afghan conflict this year, according to Ezatullah's lawyer, Robert Carr.

In an effort to win parole for Ezatullah and a stay in the family's deportation, Mr. Carr gave immigration authorities a medical report testifying that the wife was in "an extremely depressed condition" and had suffered four major depressive episodes while in Pakistan. The appeal was rejected.

Thursday Mr. Carr also urged that Ezatullah's and his family's case be included in the lawsuit filed last April, but this was refused.

"We had nothing left to do," Mr. Carr said. "If he is jailed in Pakistan and I.N.S. tries to deport the wife and child, then we will be able to take additional steps."

NYT 11/23

and in the NYT on 12/1

Ezatullah, a 27-year-old former engineering student, was deported Nov. 21 to Pakistan after his request for asylum for himself, his wife and their 11-month-old daughter was denied.

When he arrived in Karachi, however, Pakistani authorities told him they would have to send him to Afghanistan or try him for illegal entry into Pakistan. Trial would eventually result in his return to Afghanistan, because Pakistan does not accept Af-

ghans who have applied for asylum elsewhere.

He said he was saved — and returned to the United States — by a letter from his Manhattan immigration lawyer, Robert Carr, stating that the Federal immigration administrative law judge who had denied his request for asylum had also ruled that he should not be deported to Afghanistan.

"I think they will have to release me because they cannot send me back to Afghanistan, and Pakistan won't accept me," Ezatullah said hopefully, with Abdul serving as interpreter.

Ezatullah explained he was afraid to return to Afghanistan because he had been forcibly inducted into the army and had escaped three times. He said his father had been killed, two brothers were missing and his home destroyed. He said the mujahideen, the forces opposing the Soviet-backed regime helped him and his wife, who was pregnant at the time, to escape to Pakistan.

"But I learned there were Afghan agents in Pakistan and many Afghan refugees had been killed or their relatives at home had been punished, and so I decided to come with my wife and baby to America, which says it supports Afghan refugees," Ezatullah said. He was detained by immigration authorities when he arrived here seven months ago.

"GUCCI COMMUNISM"

— INTRODUCING A NEW LINE OF DESIGNER PERSONAL ITEMS FROM JESSE JACKSON'S LATE FALL COLLECTION

— INSPIRED BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV



Fabulous Designer Fragrance from exotic AFGHANISTAN.

Durham Sun 11/26

Soviets Admit Afghan Opposition

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union acknowledged Saturday there is widespread opposition to the pro-Moscow government of Afghanistan and said compromised and negotiation are needed to win popular support.

"Far from all people in Afghanistan, even among working sections of the population, accepted the April Revolution," the Communist Party newspaper Pravda said.

The comment came only a few days before the sixth anniversary of the Christmas invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops.

Pravda said the opposition "is not surprising for a backward, semi-feudal country with deep-rooted religious traditions and nearly total illiteracy."

Hartford Courant 12/22

LETTER FROM KARACHI

With Afghan chowkidars, Bengali cooks and Sri Lankan nannies to choose from, harried housewives in Karachi's elite residential areas no longer complain quite as vociferously about the lack of domestic servants. The servant "shortage" created by the mass exodus of Pakistani workers to the Gulf is gradually being offset by the arrival of Afghan, Bengali and Sri Lankan refugees in Karachi. Most Pakistani employers recognise the new arrivals as "hardworking, clean and reliable." The fact that they are willing to accept lower wages than most of their "spoilt" Pakistani counterparts is also appreciated.

Karachi plays host to a wide array of new immigrants, fleeing political persecution and economic hardships in their countries of origin. For some, Pakistan is only a temporary home, a base where they hope to earn enough money to reach their final destination in the Gulf, Europe or the US. This is the case for a number of Bengalis and Sri Lankans who dream of making enough money in Pakistan to buy a ticket to Dubai. The Afghans also see their stay in Karachi as a temporary one, though more and more of the refugees are now investing in businesses in Karachi's flourishing commercial centres. For others, Karachi has become a permanent — albeit chaotic — home which offers more economic and business opportunities than either Kabul, Dhaka or Colombo.

Noisy, bustling, overcrowded Karachi has traditionally received all newcomers with open arms. Pathans, Punjabis and the perennial *mahajirs* (migrants) from northern India have lived in relative harmony with local Sindhis and Makranis. There have always been enough jobs for everyone, enough wealth to be shared. But times are changing. The sudden arrival of thousands of refugees, especially from Afghanistan and Bangladesh, has caught the sprawling city by surprise. Karachi is reeling under the impact of the new migration and, happy housewives apart, most residents of the city are unhappy with the new arrivals.

Although intercommunal clashes are still relatively rare, Karachi's older residents tend to view the latest wave of immigrants with distrust and suspicion. No attempts at integration are made by either the new arrivals or the city's older inhabitants. As a result, the refugees tend to live apart in slums and shanty-towns which have sprung up all around the city. There are approximately 300,000 Bengalis and 100,000 Afghans living in these "colonies."

Karachi's long-suffering residents complain that their city just cannot cope with the demands of the new arrivals. Always scarce, Karachi's water supply is now constantly disrupted. The city's electricity, sanitation, transport and

communications systems are being stretched to breaking point.

Afghan refugees who have come south from their official "homes" in the camps that litter Pakistan's northern provinces are now a familiar sight in Karachi. They can be seen selling dry fruit, carpets and embroidered garments in almost all of Karachi's rapidly growing shopping malls. Their more affluent compatriots have opened up shops and show no intention of leaving.

While most Karachi residents tend to look on the Bengalis with compassion, any sympathetic sentiments they harboured for the Afghans are disappearing rapidly as reports of their alleged involvement in drug and arms traffic appear in the local press. What seems to anger people most is the government's apparent unwillingness to take action against the Afghans. Unlike the Bengalis, the Afghan refugees are not considered "illegal" and run no risk of repatriation. Egged on by impatient Karachites, the civil authorities are considering plans to send Afghan refugees back to the camps in the north. But fears of armed clashes between the Pakistani security forces and the well-armed Afghans keep getting in the way. Most Pakistanis are convinced that, despite their rhetoric, the Afghan refugees are here to stay. They say that their talk of returning home is growing increasingly feeble.

— Shada Islam

OCTOBER 1985 • FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

LETTER FROM CHAGAI

According to the 1906 *Gazetteer of Baluchistan*, the District of Chagai derives its title from Chagai, a village on the western border of the Lora Hamun [a salt lake] and local tradition attributes the origin of the name to the number of wells or chahs which are said to have formerly existed in the area.

The village of Chagai still exists, as does the district, but the *Gazetteer*'s painstaking compilers would be hard pressed to recognise the former's surroundings which now consist of 16 refugee camps for Afghans who have fled across the nearby border. There are two other camps in the district and the total of refugees is approximately 118,000 which — considering Baluchistan's tiny population of some 4 million — is a considerable imposition on an area that can barely support its own tribes.

Given that there has been no rainfall for three years — and that a good year's fall is only about three to four inches — it can be appreciated that life in Chagai is neither green nor particularly pleasant, and that the influx of refugees is beginning to cause strains, albeit minor

at the moment, between them and the indigenous population.

One problem is that while the area's tribes welcomed their fellows from across the border (along which it is impossible to impose crossing control), they did not expect their stay to be either lengthy or to have a direct effect on their well-being. The refugees have now been in the area for more than five years.

The Pakistan Government has excused the Afghan refugees from payment of taxes which is a reasonable, hostile and indeed commendable action. After all the government did not expect that the refugees would be able to indulge in entrepreneurial activity to an extent that would impinge upon local businesses. Unfortunately many Afghans have proved themselves to be astute businessmen — helped, of course, by a tax-free ride. And one main venture in which the refugees have involved themselves is in providing

rides. Their entry into the transportation field has proved lucrative — at the expense of local contractors.

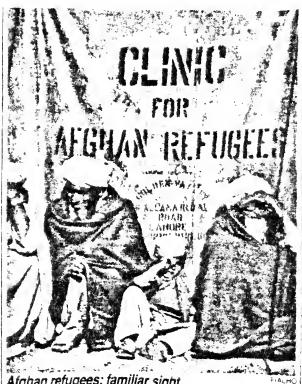
It would be extremely difficult to introduce legislation requiring payment of

taxes. The lawyers would make fortunes arguing over the legal niceties, and the refugees would complain loudly and at length concerning such evil action.

The trouble with refugees in general is that they begin by feeling enormously beholden to their unfortunate benefactors and end, almost inevitably, by complaining that not enough is being done for them.

At one tribal meeting, in reply to an impassioned plea for an increase in the allowance that the Pakistan Government pays to all Afghan families, it was pointed out — perhaps with more force than tact — that were the refugees to have arrived only a few miles away, in Iran, there would be no payment of an allowance, no tax-free status, and a great deal of barbed wire surrounding their temporary homes.

— Brian Cloughley



Afghan refugees: familiar sight.

Afghanistan was the topic of 4 panels at the University of Wisconsin's 14th Annual Conference on South Asia held from November 1-3 at Madison. Richard Newell chaired the panel on Afghan Refugees. Participants were Grant Farr on "The Plight of the Afghan Middle Class," Kerry Connor on "Afghan Refugees in Peshawar" (see p. 30), & Ralph Magnus on "Health Care." John F. Shroder, Jr., chaired the panel on Politics & the Economy. Participants were Nake Kamrany on "The Economic Effect of the Soviet Occupation," Anthony Arnold on "The Impact of the Gorbachev Leadership on Soviet Policy Toward Afghanistan," & Charles Dunbar on "A View from the US State Dept." Sulayman S. Nyang chaired a panel titled Islamic States & the Afghan Issue. Tahir Amin spoke on the West Asian Muslim States, S.S. Nyang discussed Pakistan & the OIC & Mobin Shorish spoke about the Resistance & the Muslim World. Joseph Elder led a panel on Dynamics of Conflicts on Both Sides of the Khyber Pass. Sultan A. Gulzad spoke about the implications of the Durand Line (see p.30), Shah Mahmud Hanifi discussed "The Roles of Agnatic Rivalry & Islam in the Political Processes of Afghanistan, 1919 - Present," & Ann Kalayil discussed Babrak's minority policy (see p. 30). Tom Gouttierre chaired the panel on Education & the Resistance & Louis Dupree spoke on "Education in National Liberation Movements: Afghanistan & Other Cases," Tom Gouttierre spoke about "Educating Afghans Under the Soviet Yoke." & "Sovietization of Afghan Institutions & Culture was discussed by George Glidden & Moqim Rahmantzai (see p. 30).

* * *

At the Middle East Studies Assn. meeting in New Orleans November 11-26, the following papers on Afghanistan were read: "Afghan Attitudes Towards Iran in the 19th Century" by David Champagne; "Pushtun Attitudes Towards Their Neighbors" by Habiballah Tegey;

"Afghanistan: Prospects for an Emerging Nationalism" by Sultan Aziz; "Afghan Refugee Women: The New Palestinians?" by Kathleen Howard-Merriam; "Arms to the Afghan Resistance" by John G. Merriam; "Soviet & American Options in Afghanistan & Pakistan" by Selig Harrison; "Oral Rhetoric & Structure: Afghan Popular Romances & Creative Consciousness" by Margaret Mills; & "The Education of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan" by Farshad Rastegar.

* * *

Europe, Look at Afghanistan was the title of a conference held from 11/29 - 12/1 in Turin, Italy, sponsored by the Turin & the European Committees of Solidarity with the Afghan People. Panel titles were "Recognition of the Afghan Resistance as a Liberation Movement?", "The Afghan Resistance & Its International Legal Recognition," "Afghan Resistance in the Headlines" & "European Committees for the people of Afghanistan: the Humanitarian Aid." The Comitato Torinese de Solidarieta al Popolo Afghano is at Via Cernaia 32, 10122 Torino, Italy (011) 512 085. Fabrizio Fabbri is the president. Other organizations participating in the conference were Bureau Int'l. Afghanistan (Paris), Comite Genevois de Soutien au Peuple Afghan (Switzerland), Bonn Afghanistan Committee, the Comité Valaisan de soutien au Peuple Afghan (Leytron, Switzerland), Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker (Hamburg), Komitee Afghanistan Vrij (Amsterdam), Mouvement de soutien à la résistance du Peuple Afghan (Noisy le Sec, France), Norwegian Afghan Aid & Norwegian Afghanistan Committee, Swedish Afghanistan Committee, Socialist Committee for Afghanistan (Vienna), Verein für Afghanischen Flüchtlingen (Bonn), Coordination humanitaire européenne pour l'Afghanistan (Paris), Comité Afghanistan Belgique, Comitato Internazionale di Solidarietà con la Resistenza Afghana (Rome), Comitato per gli aiuti alla lotta per la libertà e l'autodeterminazione del Popolo Afghano (Rome), Comitato per la libertà del Popolo Afghano (Florence), Movimento Popolare (Milan) & all Italian Committees.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"The Impact of the Afghan Refugees on Pakistan" by Grant Farr in ZIA'S PAKISTAN - POLITICS & STABILITY IN A FRONT-LINE STATE, edited by Craig Baxter, Boulder, 1985, Westview Special Studies on South & SE Asia. 160 pp. \$16.50 paper. ISBN 0-8133-7113-9.

"Afghanistan & Pakistan in Regional Stability" by David Champagne in US STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN THE GULF REGION, edited by William J. Olson, Boulder, 1985, Westview Press, US Army War College Series on Contemporary Strategic Issues. 250 pp., \$27.50. ISBN 0-8133-7119-8.

AFGHANISTAN: MARX, MULLAH & MUJAHID by Ralph Magnus is due for publication in March by Westview Press as part of Westview's series of Profiles of Nations of the Contemporary Middle East. 160 pp., photos, maps, notes, index. \$26.50. ISBN 0-86531-513-2.

"Freedom Fighters Madcap" by Ron Jefries in SOLDIER OF FORTUNE, December 1985. The article is about an emergency medical team in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is one of the stops on a cloak-and-dagger grand tour in LION'S RUN, an espionage novel by Craig Thomas, Bantam Books. 502 pp. \$17.95.

AFGHANISTAN: SIX YEARS OF SOVIET OCCUPATION, Special Report # 135, US Dept. of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., December 1985, prepared by Craig Karp, with the assistance of other Afghan analysts in the Bureau of Intelligence & Research. 16 pp.

Volume VIII, #4 of STRATEGIC STUDIES, the quarterly journal of the Inst. of Strategic Studies in Islamabad, dated Summer 1985, has a brief summary of "The Fourth Afghan War" for the 1st half of 1985. From the Institute we also received the July & August issues of AFGHANISTAN REPORT, both written by Raja Ehsan Aziz & Ali T. Sheikh. These monthly reports are available from the Institute of Strategic Studies, 8 Khyaban-e-Iqbal, F-6/3, Islamabad, Pakistan for \$60/yr or \$5 each. Price includes air mail.

INDIA, THE UNITED STATES & THE INDIAN OCEAN, the report of the Indo-American Task Force on the Indian Ocean, carries extensive references to Afghanistan. The volume is a thematic report of a six-day dialogue held in Delhi in late 1984 prepared by Selig Harrison & K. Subrahmanyam. Published by the Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace (11 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036) & the Inst. of Defense Studies & Analyses (New Delhi). 120 pp. ISBN 0-87003-042-6.

"Taking on a Superpower" in INQUIRY, the Magazine of Events & Ideas, Vol. 2, #10, October 1985.

"Afghanistan. Sprachen und Dialekte" by Charles Kieffer in ATLAS DER VORDEREN ORIENTS (TAVO). L. Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1984.

ETEFAQ-I-AFGHAN is the newspaper of the Afghan National Islamic Council of Immigrants in America, 149-04 Sanford Ave., Flushing, NY 11355. The paper is in Farsi with a few articles in Pashto.

A few artifacts from Afghanistan appear in TREASURES OF ISLAM edited by Toby Falk published in Association with the Musee d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva by Sotheby's/Philip Wilson. The book is the catalogue of an exhibition held in Geneva, Switzerland. The book is distributed in the US by Harper & Row, 10 East 53rd St., NY 10022. 400 pp. \$49.95. ISBN 0-85667-1967.

AFGHANISTAN 1984/85 BESETZUNG UND WIDERSTAND by Albert A. Stahel & Paul Bucherer, Huber & Co AG, Schweizerisches Afghanistan-Archiv. (Benzburweg 5, CH 4410 Liesital, Switzerland), December 1985. Pp. 16.

KUSHAN SCULPTURE: IMAGES OF EARLY INDIA by Stanislaw Czuma is the catalogue for an exhibition of works from the Ghandaran & Mathuran regions of northern India. The exhibition opened in November at the Cleveland Museum of Art. It will be shown at the Asia Society in New York from 2/13-4/6 & then travel to Seattle. The 256-page catalogue has 32 color & 216 b & w illustrations. \$40 paper.

Recent Publications

LAW IN AFGHANISTAN. A Study of the Constitution, Matrimonial Law & the Judiciary, M.H. Kamali, E.J. Brill (P.O. Box 9000, 2300 PA Leiden), (Social, Economic & Political Studies of the Middle East #36), 1985. ISBN 90-04-07128-8.

NURISTANI BUILDINGS, Lennart Edelberg, Jutland Archaeological Society Publications, Vol. 18, Moesgard, Denmark, 1984. 252 pp. ISBN 87-88415-28-7

"From Russia, With Hate" by John Barron in the READER'S DIGEST, November 1985.

TO DIE IN AFGHANISTAN (A Supplement to TEARS, BLOOD & CRIES. Human Rights in Afghanistan Since the Invasion) prepared by Barnett Rubin for Helsinki Watch & Asia Watch (36 West 44th St., New York 10036 or 739 8th St., SE, Washington DC 20003), December 1985. Pp. 106. \$8.

THE GOLDEN HOARD OF BACTRIA by Victor I. Sarianidi, Harry Abrams Inc. (100 5th Avenue, New York, NY 10011) & Aurora Art Press (Leningrad) in co-operation with Baihaqi Publications (Kabul), printed in Vienna, 1985. 420 illus, 166 color plates photographed by Leonid Bogdanov & Vladimir Terebenin. Translated by Arthur Shkarovsky-Raffe, the volume tells the story of the Tillya-tepe excavations in northern Afghanistan. ISBN 0-8109-0987-1. \$49.50.

"5 Defectors, Turned Afghan, Fight 'Holy War'" & "Afghanistan's Other Front: A World of Drugs" by Arthur Bonner in the NEW YORK TIMES on 11/1 & 11/2 respectively.

THE ARMS TRADE: A NEW LEVEL OF DANGER by A. Kozyrev, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985. 198 pp. Criticizes Pakistan for aiding the "bandits" & gives prominence to official statements of the Afghan regime.

"Afghanistan: Burdens of Occupation," several articles in ARABIA The Islamic World Review, Vol 5, #52, December 1985.

Continued on p. 30

ORGANIZATIONS

The HUMAN CONCERN RELIEF FUND SOCIETY, headed by M.A. Faris, is the only non-gov't Canadian organization aiding Afghan refugees, according to the PT of 11/21. The organization supports a camp in Peshawar for aged, maimed, crippled & widows & orphans where they provide medical, educational & social services. They have a regional office at the University of Peshawar & they operate a 40-bed hospital & 3 basic health units with 10-12 beds each. They are planning to build a training school for cripples, amputees & orphans.

[Does any reader know the address of this organization? The FORUM would appreciate having it.]

The AFGHAN HELP ORGANIZATION, P.O. Box 1088, Poway, CA 92064 has prints of Debra Denker photographs for sale. The prints have captions & titles & are intended for public display. Lawrence J. Dickson is the Chairman of the Southern California Associate Chapter of the organization.

Ken Atkinson of KCRA-TV in Sacramento accompanied Dr. Preston Darby into Afghanistan and produced a video documentary, AFGHANISTAN JOURNAL: MAY 1985. It is available from the INT'L MEDICAL CORPS, P.O. Box 49525, Los Angeles, CA 90049.

RADIO FREE AFGHANISTAN, Box 97, Oettingenstrasse 67, D-8000 Muenchen 22, West Germany, was established by an act of the US Congress as a surrogate radio for the mujahideen & the Afghan people. Since its inception on 10/1/85, it has provided news, information & analytical programs on contemporary, historical & religious topics in Dari, as well as readings from the Holy Qur'an. RFA will soon expand its broadcasting schedule to include Pashto-language programming.

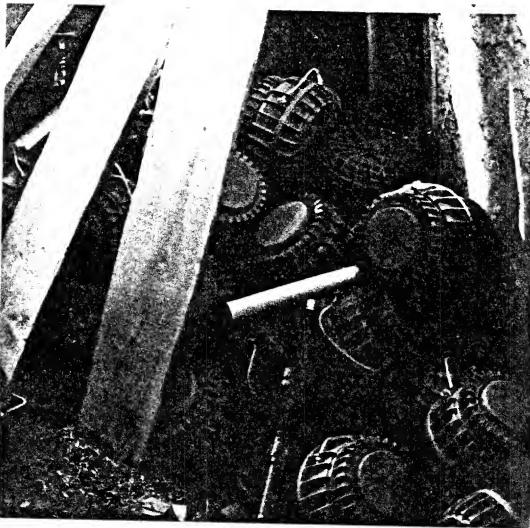
HELP, a German organization founded in 1981, organized an exhibition of photos of Afghan refugees & war victims in Bonn. Two other private German organizations, Care Deutschland & Emergency Help for Afghanistan, are establishing a training organization for young Afghans to become doctors, nurses & paramedics. [Does any reader have addresses for these organizations?]

REPORT FROM LOGAR & PAKTIA

Roger Helms accompanied Dr. Abdullah Osman (former Chief of Staff at the Kabul Univ. Hospital) & Sheriff Lodin (an Afghan paramedic/pharmacist) who were taking medicine provided by the Int'l Medical Corps to supply a clinic in Logar last fall. His comments follow:

There was more home grown medical talent in Logar than I had expected. One Peshawar-based Mujahideen party supported a full-time, no fee, fully qualified Chinese-trained doctor on permanent duty. There were at least 3 men with some medical experience: a former Afghan army medic, a French-trained paramedic & a former Kabul Univ. student with 2 years of medical school & 6 months experience in a Peshawar hospital. None of the 3 were receiving help from the outside.

A wide variety of medicine from Eastern bloc countries, India & Kabul gets to the Logar bazaars. Little of it has adequate labeling in Pashto or Persian. Many people brought half-used bottles of medicine to Dr. Osman asking what the medicine was for. One perplexed mujahid was taking valium because he was feeling tired & weak. Much of the same criticism might be made of the weapons. Whether from Pakistan or Kabul, many come without adequate instructions. This might be excused in the case of a shipment of 9-foot surface-to-surface rockets which the Soviets delivered, intact, to mujahideen on the Kabul-gardez highway. The mujahideen would prop them up on tables, attach their detonating wires to a car battery & pop them off in the general direction of Kabul. The lack of instructions was less excusable in the case of remote control mine-detonating equipment I saw which was supplied without either training or written instructions. The Soviets, on the other hand, are making some progress with labeling, I saw an anti-tank rocket with a large label which had illustrated cyrillic instructions and an arrow indicating the direction in which to fire it.



There were great piles of arms & ammunition in the border areas I visited giving me the impression that materiel, especially heavy, low-value things like ammunition, was bottlenecked at the border for want of transport. The large size of the plastic anti-tank mine, for instance, was in particularly plentiful supply in the party depots & could be had in the bazaar for about \$1.50.

Early one morning I saw Soviet jets & helicopters pound Charkh (population perhaps 10,000), dropping at least 100 flares to foil heat-seeking anti-aircraft missiles of which the villagers had none. Even helicopters flying high over Logar en route to Gardez from Kabul occasionally dropped flares. One wonders how many mujahideen could be trained & equipped to bag tanks with those remote-controlled \$1.50 mines for the cost of 1 flare-seeking SAM 7 "anti-aircraft" missile.

Dr. Osman saw a lot of stress related complaints ranging from migraines & insomnia to neuroses & schizophrenia among both active mujahideen & the civilian population. A number of mad Afghan children roam the Pehsawar bazaar. A bright spot, however, is the clinic which Dr. Osman & the IMC had opened in Zadran, manned by an Afghan paramedic. It had hosted American doctors until the practice was discouraged by the American government.

ABSTRACTS

"Involuntary Migrants: When & Why They Leave. Urban Afghan Refugees in Peshawar" by Kerry M. Connor. Paper delivered at a panel on AFGHAN REFUGEES INSIDE & OUTSIDE AFGHANISTAN, 14th Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison Wisconsin, 11/1/85.

Several researchers have observed associative behavior among groups of involuntary migrants based on time of departure from the homeland, time of arrival in the country of asylum & the specific reason for leaving the homeland. Research based on interviews with 976 heads of Afghan refugee families in Peshawar indicates only a slight trend toward associative spatial behavior based on these factors. The data, however, do suggest the strong impact of other attributes such as geographical origin inside Afghanistan, ethnicity, educational levels, employment in Afghanistan & membership in a particular Resistance party. Time of departure, arrival & reason for leaving, however, often correlate with these other factors. It is suggested that a better understanding of the "push" factors involved in involuntary migration will aid in the understanding of refugee movements.

"The Afghan New Middle Class as Refugees & Mujahidin" by Grant Farr, delivered at the same panel.

Class analysis has generally been avoided by scholars of Muslim countries including Afghanistan, who see vertical social structure such as tribe, ethnic group & religion as more important than horizontal class identification. Nevertheless, the emergence of a new middle class in Afghanistan has had profound consequences on the country's development. This paper examines the development of the new Afghan middle class & traces its role in the political struggle of the '70s & '80s. It discusses their condition as refugees, including who & why they leave & what their condition is in exile. Finally, the paper examines their condition in the present fighting. It concludes that while the present position of the new middle class is somewhat marginal, it has the potential of becoming an important force in the struggle for the freedom of Afghanistan.

"Sovietization of Afghan Schools" by Wayne Glidden & Moqim Rahmanzai. Paper delivered at a panel on EDUCATION & THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE at the Madison Conference, 11/2/85.

Since the Soviet invasion in 1979, Soviet officials, with the acquiescence of the Karmal govt., have pursued the systematic & ever-expanding sovietization of Afghan life & social institutions. The object being to change traditional Afghan social values, customs & social institutions to the point that Afghans are amenable to & supportive of Soviet policy. The schools are a critical element in this policy which has manifested itself in the creation of Afghan schools in the Soviet model & an educational system completely dominated by Soviet educators or their Afghan communist followers. A new system of schools now exists in Afghanistan and, while it is confined to those areas controlled by the Soviets, it provides a nucleus for later imposition.

"The Implication of the Durand Line on Afghan-Pakistan Foreign Policy Relations" by Sultan Gulzad. Paper delivered at the Wisconsin Conference at a panel on SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF CONFLICTS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE KHYBER PASS, 11/1/85.

The paper analyses the foreign policy relations between Afghanistan & Pakistan from the turn of the century until 1979. One tends to categorize inter-state relations in conflictual, cooperative or competitive terms - varying from time to time as a result of particular conditions. The case is quite different with Afghanistan & Pakistan. One could generally describe their relations as constant cold war. The reason for this can be traced back to the drawing of the Durand Line in 1893. This boundary cut through the center of major Pushtun tribal areas, dividing the peoples of the area. The issue continued as a long-standing dispute inherited by the Pakistan govt. in 1947. To understand the precise nature of Pakistan-Afghan relationships, a basic understanding is needed of their historical relationships, their foreign policy objectives, their perceptions of each other & their ideologies. The paper analyzes the interactions between the two countries from 1947 to 1979 which show the constant strain in these relations.

"An Analysis of Babrak Karmal's Policies Towards the Minorities in Afghanistan" by Anne Kalayil. Paper delivered at the same panel at the Wisconsin conference.

Afghanistan, like many of the other countries in the region, is comprised of a mosaic of different ethnic people. The Karmal govt. has embarked on a program to develop the languages & literatures of various groups. Uzbek, Tadzhik & Turkmens have been brought in from the USSR to teach the respective group's literature & language. How the consolidation of ethnic groups will be accomplished & to what extent the Soviet model will be used - and if it is applicable - are discussed. The paper concludes with a look at the ideological implications of the DRA's minorities policy.

"The Roles of Agnatic Rivalry & Islam in the Political Processes of Afghanistan, 1919 - Present" by Shah Mahmud Hanifi, delivered at the same panel.

The thesis of this paper is that agnatic rivalry has played a large part in the structure of the Afghan govt. since 1919. There has been constant brother-brother, cousin-cousin, nephew-nephew, grandfather-grandson, non-Pushtun competition for power. This paper provides an understanding of the relationships which certain Afghan tribes & families have to one another, clarifying the dynamics of attempted power usurpations & the more pronounced structural changes that have occurred in the Afghan govt. There has been constant jockeying of power between agnatic rivals which, in combination with the influence of theological Islam, has had a retarding role in the consolidation & development of the Afghan governmental processes. The paper proposes a model for more efficient opposition to the Babrak regime. An ideology emphasizing folk Islam in combination with regional autonomy under the "blanket" of Afghan nationality is suggested as an alternative to the numerous competitive resistance groups.

Recent Publications continued from p. 11

"Afghanistan After the Summit" & "Ethnic Problems in the Soviet Army" in SOVIET ANALYST a Fortnightly Commentary, Vol. 14, #24, 4 Dec. 1985. ISSN: 0049-1713. Taras Kuzio is the author of the article on ethnic problems. Mr. Kuzio also wrote "Annexing the Afghans?" in SOVIET NATIONALITY SURVEY, Vol. 11, #11-12, 1985.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN & AROUND PANJSHIR by M. Es'had, published in October by the Jamiat-i-Islami Political Office, P.O. Box 264, Peshawar, Pakistan. 19 pp.

"Afghanistan: Savage Stalemate" is the title of a 6-part series by Edward Girardet which began in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR on 12/27.

LA GUERRE D'AFGHANISTAN, INTERVENTION SOVIETIQUE ET RESISTANCE, papers from a colloquium sponsored by the Institut Francais de Polemologie in the spring of 1984, edited by Olivier Roy & Andre Brigot, published by Documentation Francaise, October, 1985. 47 Ff. Contributors are Marie Broxup, Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, Major Collins, Olivier Roy, Bernard Dupaigne, Jean-Jose Puig, Alexandre Bennigsen & Marie Mendoras.

AFGHANISTAN, THE SOVIET WAR by Edward Girardet, Croom Helm, Ltd., (Provident House, Burrell Row, Beckenham, Kent BR3 1AT, Great Britain)

KINNER I AFGHANISTAN (Women of Afghanistan) published by the Afghanistankomiteen i Norge, Postboks 1773, Viika, 0122 Oslo 1, Norway. 90 pp.; illus. 70 kroner. Authors include Inger Bosen, Nancy Tapper, Lena Poolma & Marianne Mjaaland.

"Afghanistan from Queen Victoria to Mikhail Gorbachev: A Struggle for National Liberation" by Emadi Haizulah. Delivered at a panel on THE SOUTH ASIAN LANDSCAPE.

The paper analyzes external interferences in Afghanistan's internal affairs since the last British attempt to subjugate the Afghan people in 1919 to the Soviet invasion in December 1979 & its aftermath. The central theme of the paper is to study Soviet foreign policy of pre- & post-occupation periods in Afghanistan & the process of the development of the armed struggle of the Afghan people. The paper also examines the prospect of Western aid policies to the Afghan resistance organizations as well as the political scope of the Afghan national liberation war.

The following are abstracts of papers given at AFGHANISTAN - A THREATENED CULTURE, a conference held at the Swedish Inst. of Int'l Affairs in Stockholm, December 6 - 8.

"Cultural Changes Among the Mujahidin & Muhamerin: Afghan Cultural Responses to the War: 1978 - present" by Louis Dupree.

The paper discusses the broad outlines of the pre-1978 rural Afghan peasant-tribal society & relates those patterns to Afghanistan's reactions to the Saur Revolution & the subsequent Soviet invasion. The rhetoric used by the DRA leadership sounded too much like the propaganda which had been coming out of Soviet Central Asia for decades. The rhetoric, combined with reforms which appeared anti-Afghan & anti-Islamic, fueled the flames of revolt. Tribal warfare & the badal (blood feud) relate to the evolution of the revolts as did the Pukhtunwali, at least initially. Further patterns include internal re-migration, in which the grandchildren of Pushtun sent north by Amir Abdur Rahman (1880-1901) have returned to the homes of their ancestors & intend to stay. The rising importance of the military commanders in the field will forever alter the rural power structure in Afghanistan. However, the roots of these charismatic leaders can be found in the military conscription during the prime ministership of Moh'd Daoud, period I (1953-63).

"Social Patterns in Peace & War Among Herati People" by Reider Gronhaug, Dept. of Social Anthropology, Univ. of Bergen, Norway.

In this presentation I shall discuss some aspects of social organization as known among Herati people in peace time & as a source of organizational innovation during the war. The principles & elements in question belong to the organizational potential that have enabled Heratis to build up & run their resistance & to keep life going under the extreme circumstances of war. Specifically, I underline the relative absence of tribal forms in the everyday life of the larger population belonging to Herat Province, & the more salient features of class & market-related contracts as important modifiers of principles pertaining to gowm & ethnicity in the structuring of social life among Heratis. The importance of class- & contract-related features in Herati social life before the war might initially be mistaken to indicate a limited potential for resistance in Herat as compared to other parts of Afghanistan that are more clearly shaped according to tribal & segmentary models of life. Quite the opposite, however. Resistance in Herat began at a very early stage during the Saur Revolution and has been intense ever since, produced considerable effects & displayed new & persistent solutions to the many organizational tasks of crisis time. It is correct to identify the forms of resistance organization partly as social innovations but, first of all, also as transformations of old organizational themes into new molds under the circumstances of life brought about during the war. Some core elements in the peace-time set up of politico-economic life in Herat have proved to be potent in structuring mujahedin resistance as well as in related activities like caring for refugees in Iran & Pakistan & in the logistics of the connections between Herat & Iranian Khorassan & Pakistani Baluchistan. Generally these organizational elements have allowed for an expansion of the vital war-time social field of Herati people into a larger network & resource system. This implies coping with the basic heretic macro-organization on a large scale. Such activities & habits existed as part of the pre-war social competence of Herati people, rather than being a purely new phenomenon brought about by war experience alone. The paper is based on material from a visit to Afghanistan in 1969, 6-months' fieldwork in Herat in 1971-72 & a 2-month field visit to Pakistan & Iran in 1981.

"Efforts Towards Self Reliance of Refugees" by Alfred Janata, Vienna.

A dwindling minority of Afghan refugees showed, right from the start, a high degree of economic incentives whereas the vast majority just moaned their fate & apathetically lived in the camps. Women were restricted to the family compounds, men endlessly discussed the war & expressed their hopes to return to their home villages as soon as possible. In the mean time it has become obvious to them that there will be no major change in their status in the near future. Refugees are more open towards income-generating & education programs initiated by various Pakistani, int'l & private voluntary agencies. This paper will hint towards traditional ties between trans-boundary tribes of Afghanistan & Pakistan in the historical background for the success of some refugee enterprises, especially in the sectors of transport & trade. Other refugees, especially from Afghanistan's minorities, engaged in a strategy to survive in the most laborious & worst paid jobs, as road construction, cutting out local laborers & thus creating social unrest. All efforts towards self reliance have to bear in mind the strained situation on Pakistan's labor market. These problems are elaborated & adequate efforts & measures are described.

"Soviet & Western Scholars on Baluchi & Paktunk Politics in Pakistan" by Erland Janssen.

The Soviet Union is a multi-national state which takes great pride in having - so it claims - solved the nationality problem inherited from tsarist Russia. It is only natural that the ethnic problems of Pakistan, a country to which the Soviet Union has always had a more or less uneasy relationship, should occupy a central place in Soviet

BOOK REVIEWS

LORDS OF THE KHYBER: THE STORY OF THE WEST FRONTIER by Andre Singer, Faber & Faber, London. Reviewed by L. McGrane in the FEER 12/5

The Soviet army may have forgotten to pack its history books into the planes that ferried it into Afghanistan in December 1979. Or, alternatively, its generals are gamblers.

Almost exactly 140 years earlier a British army appeared in Kabul with blustering threats, a puppet regime installed and a political master plan that was going to secure their imperial interests on the western flank of India. It was massacred almost to a man. (Indeed, Doctor Bryden who rode half dead into Jalalabad at the end of an impossible mid-winter retreat from the aroused Pathan tribes thought at the time he was the sole survivor.)

Are the Soviets any more likely to succeed with their tanks, helicopter gunships and 100 years of southward momentum through the kingdoms north of modern Afghanistan? In his highly readable *Lords of the Khyber* Singer joins earlier commentators in answering this question by pointing out that Pathans do not easily give up their land and, for those of them living in the mountains between present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, almost unbounded freedom.

"The [Pathan homeland] is not just another colourful square to be added to the Central Asian patchwork," Singer points out. "It is home to a people to whom intrusion does not merely challenge their devotion to their lands but attacks their whole code of existence, their religion and their sense of honour. Those who wish to occupy the land of the [Pathans] have to contend with warrior tribesmen skilled in guerrilla warfare and prepared to sacrifice themselves."

This is the emphasis of Singer's survey of men who have led these tribes and the few British military officers who made an impact on them, and to some extent it is justified. The Pathans are a well-oiled fighting machine of proven design, even though the engine rattles and the gears grind when families and sub-tribes fight among themselves — something they do just as soon as shoot foreigners. "We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we will never be

research on Pakistan. Special attention has been paid to the two provinces on the western border, Baluchistan & the NWFP, with their Baluchi & Pukhtun populations. In this paper a short account will be given of how, according to Soviet scholars, the Baluchi & Pukhtun "national particularities" have grown into "nations." How "national movements" have emerged under "capitalism," & what political conclusion Soviet scholars draw on the basis of their research. A short critique of this research is also presented, the main elements of which are its particularism & faulty empirical evidence. The Western political-historiographical tradition has long been centered on the state, usually a nation-state, & its formal structure. In writings on Pakistan, this is still so. In so far as Baluch & Pukhtun politics have been discussed at all, the nationalist movements have to a large extent been regarded as unformalized impediments to the cohesion of Pakistan as a nation & a modern state. Hardly any attempt is made to analyze the socio-political basis of these movements. This can probably be attributed to Western historiographical tradition but, it is suggested, perhaps also to political factors. Western gov'ts have usually had friendly relations with the govt of Pakistan & this fact may seem to some extent explain why Western scholars seem inclined to adopt a perspective similar to that of the Pakistani govt or their own govt. When at long last a monograph appeared in 1981 on Baluch nationalism, Selig Harrison's *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism & Soviet Temptations*, it was written from the perspective of superpower rivalry. Harrison makes very little effort to analyze the basis of Baluch nationalism. A plea is also made for closer cooperation between historians & anthropologists. To the author, himself an historian, Baluch & Pukhtuns seem to be among the peoples most favored by anthropologists. But while historians often adopt too wide a perspective, that of anthropologists sometimes seems rather narrow. The gist of the paper's argument is that although it is easy to find fault with Soviet scholars, Western scholars have a good deal to learn from them & should be more alive to the biases inherent in their own research tradition & political milieu.

"Ecology & Warfare in Afghanistan" by Terje Skoglund, Directorate for Nature & Resource Management, Trondheim, Norway.

Afghanistan belongs to the zone of recurrent drought typical of the arid Sahel belt of Africa & the Middle East. During the last 7,000 years of domestication & adaptation of pastoralism & agricultural settlements, man's impact on the environment in the form of overgrazing, soil degradation & erosion has accelerated, mostly within historic time. In the western part of the Himalayan range, including Pakistan, deforestation has led to serious soil erosion (the highest on record in the world today) with increased unpredictability of floods & siltation of arable land. There are no indications that these changes over time are caused by climactic deterioration. Afghanistan is situated between the zones of deserts & the forested Himalayas. Against this ecological background I try to assess the situation in Afghanistan in relation to that in the rest of this ecological zone. Animal stocking rate & degradation of the environment appeared higher in most other countries within the zone. There are 3 main causes of continued degradation: increasing human populations, disruption of cultural land use patterns affecting the practice of pastoralism, & warfare. Increased human populations is the main ecological problem in Pakistan & some countries south of the Sahel. Disruption of nomadism by the former Shah regime in Iran led to serious overgrazing due to human concentration. In both Ethiopia & Afghanistan with some of the most favorable land use practices in terms of cultural adaptation to ecological conditions, disruptions of these practices by Soviet-dominated regimes are the main cause of hunger & starvation. The paper also discusses some disease problems resulting from Soviet destruction of the ancient water systems in Afghanistan & assesses some alternatives to food production.

"Concepts of Disorder & Responsibility Among Durrani Pashtuns in Northern Afghanistan" by Nancy & Richard Tapper.

Beginning with a survey of Durrani notions of the self, moral responsibility & social order, the paper analyzes response to disorder & affliction at 3 levels. First, personal afflictions such as injury or ill-health are attributed either to the direct intervention of God, which may have been provoked by sin, or to immediate supernatural agencies such as spirits, evil eye or cursing, in which case the victim is not usually held morally responsible for the affliction. Secondly, disorders resulting from breaches of moral rules about authority, sexual behavior & social relations generally, are attributed to individuals' "insanity," lack of "reason," & inability to control themselves or their dependents. Such failures of moral responsibility are discussed in the idiom of honor & shame. They are dealt with actively & collectively. Thirdly, Durrani have experienced disorder & change on a large scale. Historical events & processes (such as their migration to the north, the Savaghi rebellion in 1929 & the interethnic conflict with other ethnic groups) are perceived by Durrani as affecting society as a large over long periods of time & are treated as essentially non-social & as outside the control of individuals or social groups. In so far as such processes & events are considered a threat to Durrani culture, they are seen as part of an inexorable movement towards that total social collapse which will herald the end of the world. Durrani take a similar view of what we would call "natural" disasters such as drought, flood or famine, which are not areas open to question or explanation, however much individuals or groups have suffered. Rather such disasters, like political disorders, are stoically endured & their effects pragmatically minimized, on a day-to-day basis, by the use of whatever resources are available. Taken together, the ways the Durrani view & respond to personal, moral & political disorder suggest sources of cultural flexibility & resilience as well as an active & pragmatic resistance to outside threats.

"Scholars, Saints & Sufis in Modern Afghanistan" by Bo Utas, Uppsala University, Sweden. The paper endeavors to discuss the role of various types of intellectual & religious leadership in Afghanistan during the last 2 or 3 decades. In this context, the word "scholars" will not only be used for the so called Sufi or "doctors of religion" (as in the collection volume *Scholars, Saints & Sufis* edited by Nikki Keddie in 1972) but will also include cultural personalities of the general type which is typical of a traditional culture (as that of Afghanistan) as well as academics of a more narrow modern description. Here belong theologians trained in Afghanistan (Faculty of Theology or Sharifat of Kabul Univ.) or outside (e.g., in Indian Deoband) as well as jurists trained in secular law (hujao). Here also belong the poly-historians [sic] (poets,

Book Reviews...continued from preceeding page.

content with a master," an old man said more than 150 years ago to one of the finest observers of the Pathans, the honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone.

"Every [Pathan] is a warrior, a politician and a theologian," wrote Sir Winston Churchill who fought against them in the late 19th century and whose name is painted in huge letters on a hillside near the Malakand Fort at the mouth of the Swat Valley. "Every large home is a real feudal fortress . . . Every family cultivates its vendetta. Few debts are left unpaid." And a man who ought to have known about the Pathans, having had a British father and a mother from the Afghan royal family in the mid-19th century, Sir Robert Warburton, has said of the Afridi Pathan: "He is taught by the circumstances of his existence and life to distrust all mankind and very often his near relations; heirs of his small plot of land by right of inheritance are his deadliest enemies."

Yet there is another side to the Pathans. They are enthusiastic in their hospitality, generous to their friends, romantic lovers, quoters at length of proverbs, & epic poems, masters of a playful form of conversation they call *gup* and refreshingly unbowed in the presence of the high and mighty from any outside group or country.

Singer has underscored an often neglected feature of Pathan life: Islam. Preachers have been prominent in many Pathan uprisings and ruling families. There is a loyalty to Islam in the Frontier that baffles outsiders because it co-exists with a brutality, materialism and blood-letting that Islam forbids. Which comes first in Pathan loyalties, Islam or Pathan values, is debated among Pathans themselves though it is a photo-finish and Singer has quite rightly highlighted this contradictory union.

We have to look elsewhere for full histories of the so-called lords of the Khyber. ("So called" because every man in the Khyber considers himself a lord.) But a carefully thought-out bibliography has been appended to this useful introduction to a laudable people.

historians, literary scholars &, at times, politicians in one & the same person) that used to make up the nucleus of traditional Afghan culture. "Saints" & "Sufis" rather blend in one category. There has been a tendency in Western scholarship to distinguish "Saints" (as a rather awkward translation for *shaikh*, *pīr*, *miyān*, *īshān*, etc.,) from "true Sufis." With the term borrowed from a North African context, the first are assigned to "maraboutism" considered to be a rather primitive form of popular religion, while the latter are considered to be heirs of the refined mysticism of the Classical Islamic period. This analysis has also been applied to Afghan Sufism, e.g., recently Olivier Roy who speaks of "spiritual Sufism" as against "maraboutic Sufism" (Central Asian Survey 2:4, 1983). My experience from field studies among Afghan Sufi orders (in 1977-78) suggest that this distinction is hard to uphold, at least as regards Western & Northern Afghanistan. Apparent differences in Sufi practices rather reflect differences in initiatic level. Religious leaders & cultural personalities belonging to these categories have reacted in various ways to the events that have shaken the foundations of Afghan society since the coup d'état in April 1978. Their choice of culture, in the broadest possible sense of that word.



Free Afghanistan #2
Summer 1985

BOOK REVIEWS continued from preceeding page.

WUFA, the Journal of the Writers Union of Free Afghanistan, Volume 1, #1, Peshawar, 1985.

Unity is the theme of the first issue of WUFA. Nine articles by non-political Afghan educationists & professionals explore Afghan cultural patterns which both enhance & hinder unity within the Afghan resistance movement. Using a variety of disciplinary approaches, including anthropology, history & military science, the articles are well-coordinated, marshalling disparate arguments to promote the central theme.

Describing the decentralized nature of Afghan communities, particularly the Pushtun, Hakim Taniwal & A. Yusuf Nuristani conclude that segmentary organization, the Jirga system, egalitarianism & "positive rivalry" (p. 45) facilitate mobilization & strengthen the resistance movement. Major Nasrullah Safi details the numerous changes in military tactics which have been introduced as the Soviets attempt to defeat this tribal cohesiveness. D.M. Khalil & A. Rasul Amin, however, deplore the reluctance of some in the resistance to get involved outside their own groups & areas.

Moh'd Asef Irkam's thumbnail history of Russo-Afghan relations provides the background to Soviet efforts to consolidate control, a subject discussed by each author. Dr. Z.A. Mumtaz elaborates on the Soviet uses of bribery & terror, saying that these tactics often heighten unity. The importance of certain aspects of "Pushtunwali," the tribal code of conduct, as a deterrent to Sovietization is discussed by Taniwal & Nuristani who point out that the communists inflamed dissent by attempting to nationalize wealth & land & liberate women from patriarchal control. Zar (wealth), Zan (women) & Zamin (land) are sacred to Namuz (honor), the essence of "Pushtunwali."

Nevertheless, Soviet attacks on the culture are intense and insidious. The authors all predict a protracted war. Moh'd Hakim Aryubi sums up these warnings by calling for more combat readiness through unified planning & training, in social, economic, & local administration fields, as well as in guerrilla warfare.

WUFA is published in English & in Pashto/Dari. Subscriptions (Rs. 25/copy, US\$2 plus postage) may be sent to P.O. Box 367, Peshawar University (NWFP), Pakistan.

Nancy Hatch Dupree
Durham, North Carolina

SEPTEMBER IN KABUL (from Bakhtar) - events not included in the last issue.

9/19 - The Kabul City Council of People's Representatives, Wali Moh'd Abdiyani, Chairman, approved the executive committee's plans to solve Kabul's "planning problems." Based on the 1978 Kabul Master Plan, the nucleus of the city will be changed in accordance with the "new civil engineering methods." The plan "envisages the construction of a modern palace of congresses, circuses, guest houses & commercial centers," therefore meeting "the wishes of more than 1m inhabitants of Kabul."

9/24 - "Thousands of the Afghan people commemorated the martyrdom days of Imam Hussain throughout Afghanistan."

9/25 - The DRA Revolutionary Council held its first meeting of 1364 (began 3/21/85). Babrak delivered a "contentful" speech. Others addressing the meeting were Sultan Ali Keshtmand, Burhan Ghiasi (Min. of High & Vocational Education), Sherjan Mazzdoryar (Min. of Transport) Moh'd Khan Jalalar (Min. of Commerce), Gen. Gul Aqa (VP of the RC Presidium) & Anahita Ratebzad (Pres. of the Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization).

9/26 - Colonel Ghiasuddin is the head of the Kabul City Civil Defense System.
- Damage to the DRA by "counter-revolutionary bandits has amounted to over Afs. 35 billion." However, "the enemies have not been able to disrupt the economic order of the country." According to Babrak, "The economy persistently develops."

9/29 - A new bi-monthly magazine, Afghanistan Today, hit the streets of Kabul today. Dr. Anahita Ratebzad is the editor.
- Daud Kawayan is the President of of the State Committee of Bakhtar Information Agency.

EARLY OCTOBER IN KABUL

10/3 - The Bakhtar political observer writes that Charles Thornton & his colleagues (see Forum XIII, 6, p. 9) "were the victims of the clashes between several counter-revolutionary bandits." (See also Chronology 10/21)

- The President of the Swedish-Afghan Friendship Society, on his 4th visit to the DRA since 1978, said his Society was founded to "counteract the hostile propaganda of Western bourgeois against the DRA."

10/5 - Abdul Rashid Azizi, ex-security commandant of Logar & 2 other party members were expelled from party ranks for violating party principles. Some other party members are under investigation & the Logar governor received a warning letter for his laxity.

- A report from Iran states that 2 Afghans were killed & 6 wounded in clashes between reactionary Iranian guards & Afghan fugitives in Abas port. Over 40 Afghans have been arrested.

- The 6th plenum of the NFF took place in Kabul. NFF Central Council President is Abdul Rahim Hatif.

10/6 - The KNT writes "On 10/1 another slanderous voice 'Free Afghanistan' radio was added to the so many already existing 'free voices.'" The US Congress recently appropriated \$500,000 for "training" Afghan counter-revolutionaries in "subversive propaganda & in methods of misinformation."

10/8 - One of the DRA cultural policies is the promotion of the literature, folklore, arts & traditions of Pashtoon & Baluchi tribes in south & southeastern Afghanistan. The monthly magazine, Jirgah, features literary works by tribal writers & poets. The Writers Union's Commission for the Promotion of Tribal Arts & Literature has an introductory anthology of tribal literature in production.

10/9 - "The working people of Khost are leading a normal life. Foodstuffs & consumer goods are sufficiently available in the markets of the division... The women of Khost are not confined to the houses. Side by side with men, they play a significant role in the social affairs of the community."

SHEVARDNADZE:

A NEW
OPEN DOOR POLICY?



بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

شريفوهيواد والوا

دانقلاب ضر، غوچی ماتی ارنابودی ته مکوم دی.

په دی وروستیو وختونکی دا. د. ج. د. اتلرو سله والقوا ولخواه خوست دلوکه
ولسوالی په شاونځواکی دا شارلوبه باهنوښابانۍ مرګونې تکونی وشوي . ددی بریا لی علیا تو
په نیندکی دجهنایتکو توکو باهندونوله غړو خنده له خپلوج له توپله مشرانو مولوی فتح الله -
حقانی او احمد ګل په کډون تردوز زواو په ځو سوزه زیات کسان وختل شول او هنځیلو یا درود
کړو په جزا اور سیدل اود خلکو ده بمنانو ده ټیکار ګلکی توکی او سیه ټیکار ګمراه وري، بسته -
کمک، ژوړ او ښور چې ګواکی تسيغیرهه منوکی وسرومات شول .
په دی علیا تکی ده رازه زواو سلو او مهماتوستري زېږي او په پوره ، دارو ګانو، کالیو

نژدی ۲۳ دکالیو و پوکانی تر... (زیارت همیا و نور و چگره ایز و نسیلو و مالنوزمه)
و روسته دل پیچ کالو خنچه دلوپری مکل لیاره گردین، شکنی، خانمیان اویعقوبی له لاری
قطار شرتو او بی له تلفارونه دخوست و سواکانه و رسید.

مشینه و ھیواد والو! دخوست دلوبی و لسوالی په شاھوواک په انقلاب هم باندی و نویاندی برویال توب هدی سکارندی دی چې دا د. ج. و سله وال پیوچ د چوړه قدرت خاوندی او چکوړه ایزتوناں په روح په درې ریاستې. په خوست کې د اشارزرود آغريښوسته باندی و نویو غوښه اړت ا اړخ، تائی، ج، انقلاب هم عناصه به مل سه، راټ غوری او له مخې چې.

The leaflet which is reproduced on these two pages was one of many dropped on villages in Paktia this fall. It claims that DRA security forces have demolished anti-revolutionary activities around Khost & ended the "dishonorable dealings" of the criminal bands, killing two of their leaders, Moulavi Fatehullah Hackani & Hamad Gul, plus 2,500 of their followers. It lists materiel captured - rockets, mortars, medicine, tents, etc. "After 5 years, for the first time, a bus caravan passed thru Gardez, Zazi & Chamkni to reach the safety of the province of Khost.... Khost is witnessing the fall of the remnants of the counter-revolution."

Some of the recipients of the leaflet scrawled their comments on it. Captions, numerically keyed on the leaflet are as follows:

- 1) Death to the Islamic armies!
- 2) Everything is a lie.
- 3) Long live the armies of the revolution & long live Islam all over the world!
- 4) Long live the Military Provisional Forces in Khost.
- 5) Dead. Hoorah! Dead. Hoorah! Long live Allah u Akbar.
- 6) This is the fate of anti-revolutionaries.
- 7) Death to the Khalq officer.
- 8) Long live the Islamic defenders of Afghanistan!

روزی او سرگردی روزی داعلاری خود را بینان

وَعِنْدَكُمْ رُوْيَىٰ مِنْهُمْ بَعْدَ اِسْلَامٍ

3

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ زِيَادُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ

الطبعة الأولى ١٩٦٣

三

دادی دهیار اونا نکرچه و راسنی خانیز کل نویل بزیشت.

فوجيتسو

العنوان

آذین می بدم) روزخانه استان همچنان همانند درون

3

CHRONOLOGY

10/10 - BIA - Baryalai Nawroz, formerly of the Kabul Customs Office, was arrested by the DRA for allegedly spying for Germany & France.

- The largest polyclinic in Afghanistan opened in Kabul. Costing over rubles 9m, the clinic was financed by the USSR & can accommodate 600 patients daily. [On 10/19 Bakhtar reported that 15,000 patients were treated in the 1st week in spite of the 600 capacity.]

- PT - The chief of the Organization of Islamic Conference warned that no state would be secure if the Afghan people lost their battle for independence. The OIC approved Pakistan's draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

10/12 - SCMP - A Reuters report states that, according to Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister, Moscow will not agree to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan as part of an overall peace settlement. The DFM also said, in an interview with The Muslim, a Pakistani paper, that Afghanistan would not be discussed at the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

- BIA - A Council for Art Affairs has been established in the DRA to organize "political work among the masses through artistic works & performing concerts, playing music, paintings, posters & stage plays." The Council, headed by Abdul Qadir Ashna, will organize festivals, competitions, exhibits & seminars & award medals etc., to artists of merit. - "At present around 150 Soviet specialists are cooperating with Afghan physicians in different hospitals of the capital & provinces.

10/13 - SCMP - Babrak, in an interview with The Muslim, indicated that Soviet troops might begin leaving Afghanistan as early as 6 months after foreign support for anti-communist elements stopped. He said that Pakistan's refusal to talk directly with his gov't was the main obstacle to an overall settlement.

10/15 - BIA - Elections for delegates to local councils in Zaranj began yesterday in Nimroz, the 3rd province to hold elections.

- Cotton production is "meeting not only the requirements of textile mills, edible oil & soap, but is also exported to the USSR & Hungary." In 1984 unginned cotton yields were 51,000 tons; this year the hope is for 75,000 tons.

10/16 - BIA - Agriculture & Land Reform Min. Abdul Gafar Lakanwal stated that since 1978, 11m peasants have been freed from debts amounting to Afs. 31 billion, over 800,000 families have received 790,000 hectares of land & that huge sums have been earmarked "to strengthen the technical infrastructure of agriculture in the DRA."

10/17 - BIA - The DRA bought 20 computers from East Germany to computerize the accounts of the Central Bank, Bank Milli & the Pashtani Tejarati Bank.

10/18 - PT - German doctor Frank Paulin, recently back in Bonn from Afghanistan, reported that the Soviets have intensified their campaign against doctors & journalists accompanying mujahideen in the DRA. He said that 5 Medecins sans Frontieres doctors have been killed & many hospitals destroyed.

10/21 - HK Standard - The British Under-sec'y of State at the Home Office told a news conference that Afghanistan is becoming the main source of heroin in southwest Asia. "What is clear is that in at least half the land area of Afghanistan, wholesale growth of opium poppy is going on." He said he was convinced that the DRA Gov't was either behind the heroin trade or unable to control it.

- BIA - Haqiqat-e-Enqelab-e-Saur, the PDPA paper, commented on Charles Thornton's death (See Forum XIII: 6, p. 9): "Documents obtained...show that he was assigned to teach the bandits the use of heavy weapons... Authentic documents are available showing that the rocket which caused the shooting down of a civilian plane of Bakhtar Airlines with 52 passengers aboard (see Forum XIII: 6, p. 4) was launched by him." [Fingerprints maybe? Ed.]

- The DRA Council of Ministers approved more measures for supplying medical care to Afghans. Lab exams (at gov't labs), inpatient, orthopedic, "radiatory," & dental treatment will be free of charge.

10/22 - Afghan News (Jamiat) - Members of the mujahideen alliance delegation to NYC, led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, include Eng. A. Rahim from Jamiat Islami, Deen Moh'd from Hezbi Islami (Khalis), Dr. Zabihullah from "Nat'l Salvation Front," Mr. Loodin from Harakat Engilat, Mr. Saljoqi from NIFA & Zemarak from Sayyaf's party (see 10/30 & 10/31).

- Mujahideen are expecting a large Soviet offensive in the Panjsher.

- BIA - The 20th anniversary of the WDOA was celebrated in the DRA. Babrak called on women to increase their efforts to make the WDOA a broad-based social organization. (The WDOA held its 5th plenum on 10/29. WDOA President Dr. Anahita Ratebzad said that the organization's motto is "the ensurance of country-wide peace.")

- The DRA & the USSR signed an agreement for a feasibility study for a hydro-power project at Sarobi. The study will be completed in 1988 & construction, to cost \$162m, will begin in 1989.

- The Czech news agency Svercina will give photographic equipment to the DRA & send experts to hold journalism courses.

- PT - The Baghlan provincial Khad chief, Moh'd Hassan Pashai, was killed by Mujahideen while making a speech.

10/23 - IHT - Pakistani Pres. Zia ul-Haq said in an interview that Soviet & Afghan military forces have suffered 60-70,000 deaths, injuries or illnesses in Afghanistan. He put the Soviet force there at 150,000.

- Guerrillas attacked a Soviet air base in Kabul damaging 8 aircraft. The SCMP says the attack was on Kabul airport with no reported damage but that 6 aircraft were shot down in other parts of Afghanistan between 10/11-13.

- BIA - Deputies elected in Badakhshan Province include 27 workers, 427 peasants, 14 artisans, 149 "intelligentsia & 47 from other strata...including clergymen & women."

- Bandits were wiped out in Estalif, Paghman & in the Khenjan district of Baghlan.

10/24 - PT - Rustam Shah, Pakistan's Commissioner for Afghan Refugees, denied DRA allegations that refugees are not being

allowed to return to Afghanistan. He stated in a BBC interview that there are about 21,000 Afghan refugees in Karachi* & that about 3,500 refugees are entering Pakistan each month. Refugees may operate businesses in Pakistan but are not allowed to buy "immovable property." * See p.28.



10/25 - Press Release - The US Senate unanimously passed a resolution calling for Pres. Reagan to discuss Afghanistan with Soviet leaders. It also called for him to reiterate the desire of the US to achieve a negotiated political settlement agreeable to all interested parties in Afghanistan. The resolution's author, Sen. Gordon Humphrey from NH, said that "any negotiated settlement which does not include the resistance will be viewed by the US Senate as a worthless scrap of paper."

10/26 - BIA - The 20th anniversary of Youth Solidarity was celebrated throughout the DRA.

- The USSR will deliver 13 "engineering bridges" to the DRA to replace those destroyed by the counter-revolution.

- PT - The Agency Afghan Press reports:... Soviets massacred 300 civilians in the villages of Bara Kot, Bad Mushk, Piya Dara & Band-e-Sultan in Wardak (see 11/2); hundreds of DRA troops reportedly defected in the Panjsher while the Soviets were gearing up for a new offensive; the DRA has called all Afghans under 40 for compulsory 3-year military service.

10/26 - SCMP - Narcotic officials estimate that 300 tons of opium are produced annually in the DRA & almost all of it is smuggled into Pakistan in the form of heroin.

10/27 - PT - An int'l commission investigating "missing people in Afghanistan", announced after a 4-week tour of the eastern part of the country that the people of Ghazni, Wardak & Logar are facing starvation. The commission will issue a report.

- Afghan News (Jamiat) - Soviet & DRA forces surrounded Herat during a series of guerrilla attacks. Many civilians sought refuge in Herat's main mosque but it was hit by DRA rockets & bombs & 40 civilians were killed & 80 hurt. (On 10/28 the NYT reported that Afghan Radio said that rebel missiles hit the mosque killing 14 & wounding 78.)

- BIA - Afghan handicraft exports amounted to over \$1,280,000 last year.

10/27 - BIA - Ariana Afghan Airlines was dissolved by the Council of Ministers on 7/23/85 & is now part of Bakhtar Afghan Airline Enterprises. The airline purchased 3 new AN-26 planes from the USSR recently.

10/28 - BIA - Babrak asked Afghanistan's Hindu communities to hold "tribal jirgahs" to solve their socio-economic problems & to defend the country.

- Afghan News - Jamiat mujahideen attacked a DRA convoy on the Kandahar-Kabul highway killing 6 & capturing 3 soldiers. The prisoners were released on the order of a local judge. The same convoy was then attacked by Harakat mujahideen who destroyed some trucks & by Mahaz mujahideen who captured 3 trucks loaded with foodstuffs.

10/29 - BIA - A non-diplomatic employee of the Pakistan Consulate in Kandahar was seized by the DRA & charged with spying, (The PT reports on 10/31 that Pakistan issued a strong protest.)

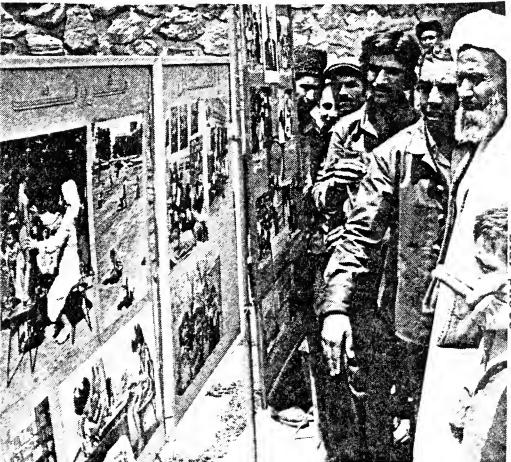
- NYT - DRA Foreign Minister Shah Moh'd Dost said in NYC that Afghanistan could not reach an agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops unless Pakistan entered into direct talks with the DRA.

10/30 - UN Press Release - The UN Sec'y Gen'l received a letter from the Afghan Resistance alliance delegation (see Forum XIII: 6, p. 11). He forwarded it to the UN Legal Office which advised that the question of credentials was a matter for the General Assembly to handle. (See p. 15.) - BIA - The Indian gov't gave \$6,000 worth of equipment to the DRA Ministry of Food-stuffs & Light Industries.

10/31 - PT - In a press conference in NYC, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar said India has provided over 100 military advisers to the DRA as well as anti-personnel mines; there are Cuban commandos as well as units from South Yemen & Bulgaria fighting in Afghanistan plus advisers from the PLO; there are over 230,000 Soviet troops in the DRA; the mujahideen are receiving absolutely no aid or arms from the US. [Lost in translation perhaps? Ed.]

- BIA - Four Chinese citizens who were "kidnapped by counter-revolutionary groups" were handed over to PRC representatives in Kabul. DRA forces "saved" the Chinese who were nabbed in Pakistan & moved into Afghanistan. The DRA returned them at the request of the Chinese in order to show good faith.

- Dr. Moh'd Naim Farhan, Dean of the Fine Arts Faculty, reports that departments of cinematography, architecture & "miniature in the Behzad style" will be set up soon. "The artistic activities of the Faculty... are conducted in any nook & corner of our country."



11/2 - BIA - The Bakhtar political observer accused China of trying to disgrace the DRA with a China Daily report saying that many civilians were killed during DRA-Soviet operations in Barikot, Bigmush, Pidara & Band-e-Sultan villages in Wardak (see 10/26). He says that the DRA army has carried out successful operations in many provinces, Wardak among them, against bandits who are armed mainly with Chinese-made weapons. Last month Wardak elders held a jirgah & asked DRA authorities to "deliver them from the atrocities of bandits which drove local residents to despair with degrading treatment, robbery & extortion... The China Daily turns the actual facts upside down. And Barikot, as every Afghan should know, is in Kunar Province... Bigmush, Pidara & Band-e-Sultan are situated not in Wardak."

- NYT - Arthur Bonner, in an article on drugs in the DRA, writes:

Afghanistan is also a major producer of marijuana-based drugs like hashish that are consumed throughout South Asia and the Middle East. The profits from these drugs are great; according to the narcotics agents, Afghan hashish can be smuggled out of Pakistan, where it costs \$25 a pound, for sale in Saudi Arabia at \$1,500 a pound.

Rahmatullah, a Soviet defector interviewed in Afghanistan who was previously named Aleksei Ivanovich Olenin, discussed the drug situation among Soviet soldiers. He said that at the Soviet base at Qilgai, Afghanistan, where he worked as a truck driver before his defection, "there are 10,000 Russian soldiers there, and a lot of times they have nothing to do.

"Half of them smoke hashish," he said. "The officers get drunk on vodka."

"The soldiers are paid in rubles and never have enough money to even buy cigarettes," he said. Referring to the afghan, the Afghan currency, he added that if the Russians "want to buy from the Afghans, they need afghanis, and so they sell gas and ammunition and anything else they can."

to let someone out. The soldier apparently wanted assistance in going back to the USSR (see below).



11/3 - NYT - Afghan troops surrounded the US Embassy in Kabul, cut off the electricity & turned on searchlights to coerce the Americans into turning over a Soviet soldier who had been there since 10/31. The US lodged protests with the Kabul & Soviet Gov'ts. The 19-year-old soldier, a guard near the embassy, "darted through" the embassy gate when it was opened

11/4 - NYT - The soldier met with the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul. According to the US State Dept. there are only a handful of American citizens in Kabul beyond the 20 diplomatic personnel & Marine Guards at the embassy. Diplomatic tours of duty in Kabul are usually 18 months & diplomats receive both hardship & danger pay.

11/5 - NYT - The Soviet soldier left the US Embassy of his own free will after being promised he would be allowed to return to the USSR. Aleksandr Vasilievich Sukhanov met with Soviet officials in the presence of US diplomats including the US charge d'affaires in Kabul, Edward Hurlitz, who speaks Russian.

- Pres. Reagan was interviewed by 4 Soviet journalists on 10/31. Afghanistan came up: (The material in italics was omitted from the versions of the interview distributed in the USSR.)

Q. Mr. President, you have mentioned Afghanistan. I would like to say that in Afghanistan Soviet troops are there at the invitation of the Afghan Government to defend the Afghan revolution against the incursions of forces from abroad that are funded and supported by the United States.

In the United Nations, you have indicated that the United States has not

attempted to use force, but has fostered the process of democracy by peaceful means. How does this reply fit in with the use of force by the United States in many countries abroad, beginning with Vietnam, where seven million tons of weapons were dropped — seven million tons more than were in the Second World War, and, also, Grenada? I ask this not to dwell on the past, but simply to clarify this issue.

A. And it can be clarified, yes.

[First, of all, with regard to Afghanistan, the Government which invited the Soviet troops in didn't have any choice because the Government was put there by the Soviet Union and put them with the force of arms to guarantee. And, in fact, the man who was the head of that Government is the second choice. The first one wasn't satisfactory to the Soviet Union, and they came in with armed forces and threw him out and installed their second choice, who continues to be the governor.]

Now, there are no outside forces fighting in there. But, as a matter of fact, I think there are some things that, if they were more widely known, would shock everyone worldwide. For example, one of the weapons being used against the people of Afghanistan consists of toys — dolls, little toy trucks, things that are appealing to children. They're scattered in the air. But when the children pick them up, their hands are blown off. They are what we call booby-traps. They're like land mines. This is hardly consistent with the kind of armed warfare that has occurred between nations.

From the TASS report:

In the interview with us, the President tried to present the case so as to show that the main obstacle to the strengthening of international peace is ostensibly the struggle for social and economic independence, the struggle which is being waged at a cost of tremendous sacrifices by countries and peoples that have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism and imperialism. Reagan specially singled out such countries as Angola, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

One can share Reagan's indignation at the use of booby traps in Afghanistan. Those are made in the shape of toys which cripple children. However, it must be recalled that booby traps are a U.S. invention and they were used way back in Indochina. At present they are being used by the U.S.A.'s hirelings.

Another omission:

[And there is the contrast: the Soviet troops have been in Afghanistan for six years now, fighting all that time. We did what we were asked to do — the request of the Government of Grenada — and came home.]

11/5 - PT - A Saudi envoy in Kabul reportedly was beaten by Afghan soldiers who broke into his home on 10/24 & forced him to sign a statement saying he was a spy. The Soviet ambassador in Kabul told the Saudi that the soldiers were actually disguised Muslim rebels angry at Saudi Arabia for cutting back its aid.

- Germany has said that DRA allegations of spies in the FRG Embassy in Kabul are baseless.

11/6 - BIA - The spring wheat yield in the DRA (3/21 - 6/21/85) amounted to 3m tons.

- Over 300,000 people marched on the US Embassy in Kabul protesting the "flagrant intervention" of the US in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, denouncing Reagan's speech at the UNGA, waving flags & chanting slogans.

11/8 - PT - The Indian Defense Ministry has denied as baseless reports that Indian Air Force planes have been painted with Afghan Air Force markings for use in attacking Pakistani nuclear complexes.

- HK Standard - Troops from Soviet Tadzhikistan, stationed at Dasht-e-Abdan airbase in Kunduz, mutinied after Russian officers executed one of their comrades early last month. The victim had set off a rebel-supplied mine. About 80 soldiers reportedly were killed in the mutiny.

11/9 - CBS Evening News - Film footage taken by Kurt Lohbeck in Afghanistan showed Soviet planes using napalm.

- BIA - In mopping up operations around Herat, the DRA wiped out 350 bandits, capturing 75, & seized over 700 mines, mortars & rocket launchers, over 5,000 bullets, 12 vehicles, "35 logistic depots," explosives, etc. "In the same operation another 12 different weapons godowns, almost 100 hideouts, a training center of the bandits & a well-equipped hospital including lots of light & heavy weapons were exterminated by the armed forces of Afghanistan."

- In Kabul the 1st seminar in 200 years on calligraphy opened. It was attended by "scholars, calligraphers, cultural figures...& a number of fans."

- The Revolutionary Council held an "extraordinary session" attended by practically everybody from ministers to peasants. Babrak addressed the group on "the national peculiarity of the national democratic April Revolution & its immediate tasks under present conditions. Among other things Babrak said that all patriots "have the right to & should take part in building a new & democratic Afghanistan. In no way should it be permitted that leftist-extremist deviations in the process of national democratic revolution of our country, emanating from the subjectivists' dogmatic & voluntaristic approach or from the neglectance of the crystal clear realities of our society, shall emerge on the basis of the adventurous attitude, infantile disorder of glossing over the nat'l democratic character of the nat'l democratic revolution."

11/11- BIA - Raisin exports bring the DRA about \$130m yearly & dried fruit exports are 2nd after natural gas in earning foreign exchange. The main raisin markets are the USSR, Great Britain & India.

- Faqir Yaqubi, Pres. of the DRA Nat'l Committee for UNESCO, said that the recent UNESCO conference in Sofia agreed to start publishing a Pashto version of the UNESCO magazine, Courier.

- The Council of Ministers met & heard the very successful results of state development, budget & banking plans.

- SCMP - In an interview in the West German Der Speigel, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar said that the USSR had lost 50,000 soldiers, 7,500 vehicles, including tanks, & 480 helicopters since it invaded Afghanistan. He said that 1.1m Afghans had been killed, mostly civilians, with mujahideen losses only 4-5% of the overall figure.

- Afghan News - Jamiat calls for the coalition of Afghan mujahideen to ask friendly countries to establish quotas for the admission of Afghan students to their schools & universities. "This is a type of humanitarian aid which does not create a lot of problems."

11/12 - NYT - Pakistan's Foreign Minister opened the debate on the Afghan question at the UNGA calling for the immediate & total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Afghan UN Ambassador Farid Zarif stated that if Pakistan really wanted peace & normalcy, it would agree to face-to-face negotiations.

11/13 - UN Press Release - The UNGA adopted, for the 7th time since 1980, a resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan & on the parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution. The vote was 122 for, 19 against with 12 abstentions.

- BIA - A project to produce & repair diesel generators, financed by the DRA with help from the USSR, Czechoslovakia & East Germany, was begun. It is to be completed in 1991.

- Elections for delegates to the local organs of state power began in Jalalabad in Nangrahar Province.

- The PDPA CC approved the Revolutionary Council's declaration concerning the national character of the Revolution & its undelayable tasks. DRA foreign policy is aimed at "consolidating peace & the expansion of all-sided int'l cooperation." The state will "render honest cooperation with the nat'l private sector & provide it with facilities for promotion." All patriots are invited to take part in the "reconstruction of a prosperous society" & the leading state organs* will be expanded "by the inclusion of reliable representatives of the people in order to reflect the interests of the various strata of the society." The DRA will "hold talks with those elements who have unconsciously taken a hostile position against the April Revolution or who are repentful of their... counter-revolutionary activities." The declaration also stresses literacy, equal rights for all tribes & nationalities & respect for Islam & the non-aligned movement.

* "Leading state organs" are defined as the Revolutionary Council & the Council of Ministers.

- SCMP - Reports from the front: Guerrillas attacked supply convoys on the Salang highway, launched rockets on the Soviet Embassy in Kabul (11/4) & on Kabul airport; heavy fighting is reported in the Panjsher Valley & in Herat where DRA & Soviet forces launched a major offensive in 10/20.

11/14 - BIA - Sultan Ali Keshtmand visited Herat City, toured the textile factory, visited a soon-to-be-opened 200-bed hospital & inspected the mosque damaged by bandit rockets (see 10/27). He gave the necessary instructions for the mosque's repair.

11/15 - BIA - Construction began in Kabul on a 200-bed hospital for members of the people's militia.

11/16 - PT - An Afghan freedom-fighter court in Helmand sentenced 8 DRA officials to death. The men, all Parchamis, were accused of trying to join the mujahideen to spy for Khad.

11/17 - BIA - The DRA has "repeatedly announced that the discussion of the so-called problem of Afghanistan is an open interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan & is an obvious trespass on the charter of the UN."

11/19 - BIA - The Peasant's Cooperative Union in Helmand has bought 600 tons of surplus wheat from peasant growers. The Union pays "12 bags of chemical fertilizer, 50 kgs. of sugar & 100 oil cakes besides its price" for 1 ton of wheat.

- The USSR will give the DRA 400,000 doses of typhus vaccine.

- The laboratories of the Mine & Geology Survey complex were opened.

11/20 - SCMP - A plane piloted by a Soviet Air Force general was reportedly shot down by guerrillas on 11/11 between Kandahar & Begram air base. "Soviet ground forces searching for the missing officer found his parachute, but there was no sign of him, ... indicating that he may have been captured by the guerrillas.

- BIA - The DRA Gov't Printing House has 3 new German color printing presses; one can print 10,000 pages/hour.

- Bakhtiar says; "Some say the Soviet Union is occupying Afghanistan but the Soviet Union is ready to return home any day. The US leaders, however, do not want the limited Soviet contingent to go home because they know Afghanistan will progress if there is peace."

11/21 - BIA - The 16th plenum of the PDPA CC was held in Kabul. The group elected Najibullah as Sec'y. Ghulam Dastagir Panjshiri & Abdul Qadir "asked to leave" the CC because of ill health. Moh'd Ismael Danesh was discharged from his alternate membership "due to the irrelevancy of his post." Elected as new alternate Politburo members were Nazar Moh'd (Min. of Defense) & Sulaiman Laeq (Min. of Tribes & Nationalities) & Saifullah (Cdr. of the Kabul City Tsarandoi). Promoted to full-fledged membership was Ghulam Farouq Yaqubi (1st Deputy Pres. of the Transportation Service and, according to the PT, the Deputy Director of Khad).

- Soviet aid to the DRA last year was 72% of the total DRA foreign aid.

- The Kabul Theater, described as a "caused casualty," will be converted to a modern theater complex by 1987 thanks to the gratis aid of the USSR.

11/22 - PT - Soviet Muslim troops helped mujahideen blow up an ammunition dump near Mazar-i-Sharif (see 11/8). Another arms depot was reportedly destroyed in Nimroz. Mujahideen shot down a Soviet helicopter in Herat & Soviet aircraft retaliated by bombing civilians praying in a local mosque killing at least 20 (see 10/27 & 11/14).

- HK Standard - And in Geneva:

GENEVA: On two issues the United States said it would push at the superpower summit — regional matters such as Afghanistan, and human rights — the Soviets have publicly displayed a defensive stance, claiming the West has a distorted view of the problems.

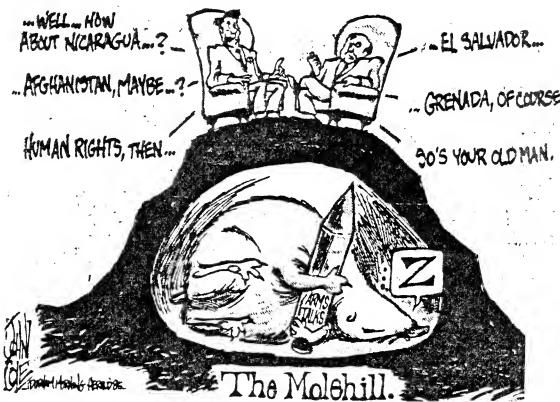
On Afghanistan, chief Kremlin spokesman Leonid Zamyatkin told reporters on Wednesday that it is "unfortunate" that the Soviet Union is blamed for the bloodletting there. He blamed it instead on what he called "bandit-like groups" trained in Pakistan. . .

But Mr Zamyatkin spent the major part of a news conference defending the Soviet position on Afghanistan, and said that if the West would cease supporting the "counter-revolutionaries", the Soviets would be happy to withdraw their "limited contingent of troops" and accept a political settlement.

The Soviets have never put a number on their forces in Afghanistan, which have been in the country since December 1979. But latest Western intelligence estimates set the troop figure at 115,000.

11/24 - BIA - Sultan Ali Keshtmand said that the DRA is carrying out all-sided measures to turn the armed forces, particularly the army, into a "crushing force against the enemies of the country."

11/25 - NYT - At the summit there may have been some movement toward negotiations over the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.



Durham Morning Herald 11/19

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- Christian Science Monitor
DRA	- Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KNT	- <u>Kabul New Times</u>
NFF	- National Fatherland Front
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
NYCT	- <u>New York City Tribune</u>
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
RC	- Revolutionary Council
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNGA	- <u>United Nations General Assembly</u>
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA	- Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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